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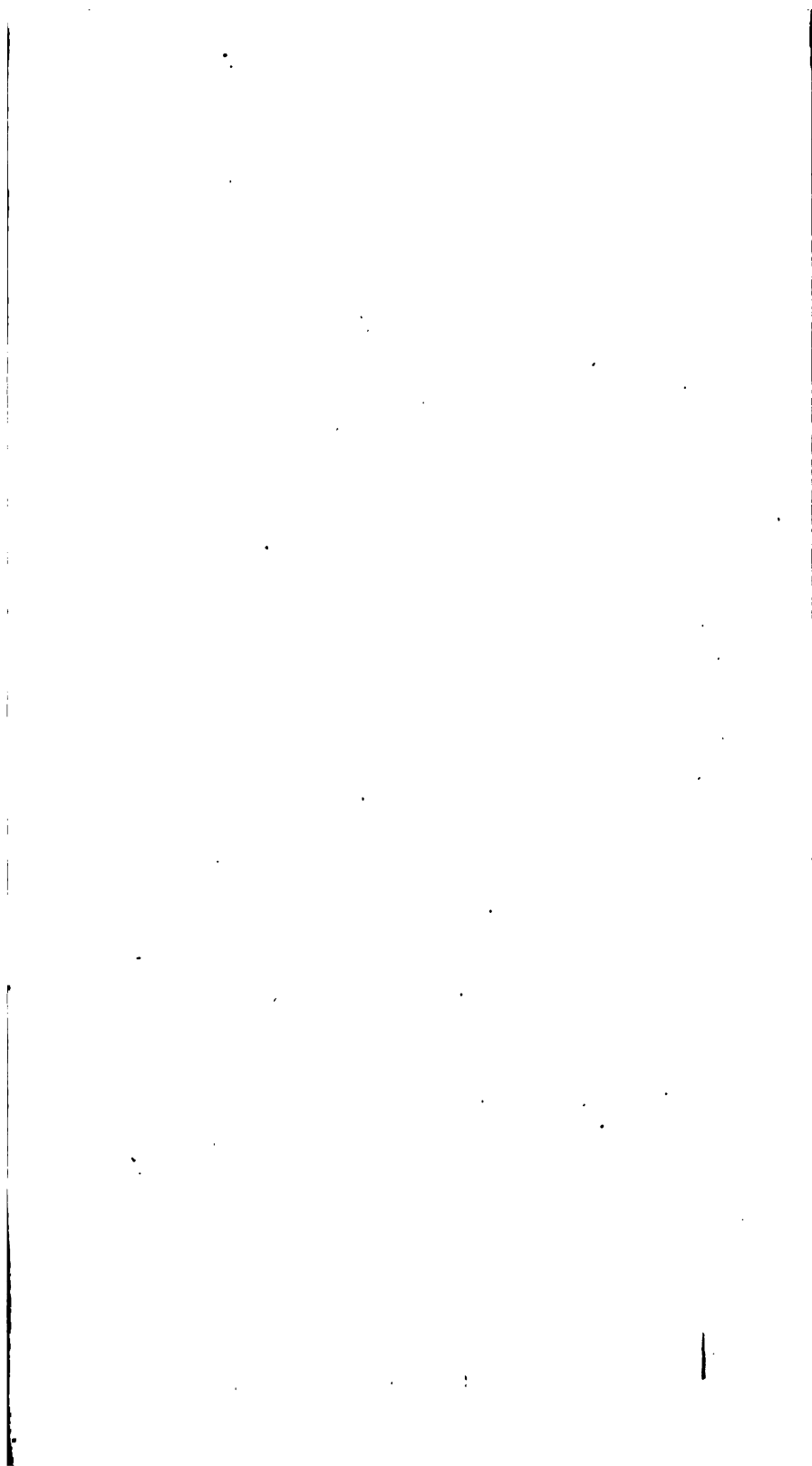
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A
V I E W
OF
UNIVERSAL HISTORY,
FROM THE
CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.
INCLUDING
AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
CELEBRATED REVOLUTIONS
IN
FRANCE, POLAND, SWEDEN, GENEVA,
&c. &c.
TOGETHER WITH
AN ACCURATE AND IMPARTIAL NARRATIVE
OF THE LATE
MILITARY OPERATIONS;
AND OTHER IMPORTANT EVENTS.

By the Rev. J. ADAMS, A.M.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
VOL. I.



History is philosophy, teaching by examples, how to conduct ourselves in every
situation of private or public life. *Eolingbrooke.*

A man who does not think he dropped from the clouds, or does not date the
origin of the world from the day of his nativity, ought naturally to be
curious of being acquainted with the transactions of different ages and
countries. *King of Prussia.*

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE history of mankind is an inexhaustible source of useful instruction, and rational entertainment. There is a concatenation in events, by which they produce each other, and without a knowledge of which they cannot be easily comprehended. The rise of one kingdom is often owing to political defects in some other; and the arts and learning of succeeding states take a tincture from those countries from whence they derived their origin. The transactions of a few reigns, says Tacitus, cannot afford a sufficient stock of materials to please or interest the reader; but *Universal History* presents an infinite variety of the most striking and instructive information. Nothing can be more conducive either to our improvement or pleasure, than to review the vast theatre where we ourselves are performers; to converse with those who have been great or famous; to condemn the vices of men without fearing their resentment; and praise their virtues without conscious adulation.

The following Abridgement comprehends a concise narrative of the principal events in history, the causes of the rise and fall of empires, states, and kingdoms, a view of society and man-

ners, with an account of the progress of arts, sciences, and literature.

To young people of both sexes, and such as are but little acquainted with history, this work, it is hoped, will be found a very proper introduction to one of the *most useful branches of knowledge*; and to others it will serve to bring to remembrance what they have read.

In compiling the history of the present eventful period, the Author has made it his study to collect, from every quarter, the most authentic and interesting information that could possibly be obtained. The different accounts of the French revolution, some fugitive pamphlets, and the most approved periodical publications, have chiefly furnished materials.

THE
C O N T E N T S
OF THE
FIRST VOLUME.

CHAP. I.

ON the antediluvian world.—Longevity, religion, policy,
and literature of the antediluvians, — 1 page 1.

CHAP. II.

On the probable causes of the deluge.—On the dispersion of
mankind, and the origin of civil society. — p. 5.

CHAP. III.

Of the Babylonian monarchy. — p. 12.

CHAP. IV.

Of Egypt,—Government and laws of the Egyptians.—Fertility
of Egypt.—Antiquity, arts, sciences, and religion of the
Egyptians. — — — p. 14.

CHAP. V.

Of the Assyrian, or first great monarchy. — p. 24.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Persian, or second great monarchy. — p. 29.

CHAP. VII.

Of Syria—Palastine—And the Jewish nation. p. 35.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Phœnicians—Their religion—Arts—Sciences—Manu-
factures—Language—and Commerce—Of Scythia—Its great
extent—Character and Customs of the Scythians—Their
valour, and mode of raising soldiers. — p. 44.

CHAP. IX.

Of the early State of Greece, and the siege of Troy. p. 47.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. IX°.	
Of Grecian colonization. — — —	p. 58.
CHAP. X.	
Of Athens. — — —	p. 58.
CHAP. XI.	
Of Sparta. — — —	p. 64.
CHAP. XII.	
Miscellaneous remarks on the Spartan government. —	p. 68.
CHAP. XIII.	
Of the olympic games, and the conquest of the Messenians.—	
Of the usurpation of Pisistratus—Of the battle of Marathon.	p. 72.
CHAP. XIV.	
Character of Aristides and Themistocles. — —	p. 78.
CHAP. XV.	
The battle of Thermopylæ and Salamis—The retreat of Xerxes—The battles of Platæa and Mycale. —	p. 81.
CHAP. XVI.	
Of the internal divisions of Greece, the Peloponnesian War, and the surrender of Athens to the Lacedæmonians.	p. 86.
CHAP. XVII.	
Of the Thebans—Of the achievements of the Grecian states, from the rise of Thebes to the battle of Chæronea.	p. 94.
CHAP. XVIII.	
On the rise of the Macedonian empire, and the causes of the decline of the German states.—Death and character of Philip. — — —	p. 99.
CHAP. XIX.	
Alexander's accession to the throne of Macedon—His visit to Diogenes—His wonderful achievements—His death and character. — — —	p. 102.
CHAP. XIX*.	
Division of Alexander's Empire.—The Achæan League.—Greece becomes a Roman Province. — —	p. 108.
CHAP. XX.	
Of the fine arts and literature among the Greeks.—Poetry.—Music.—Painting.—Statuary.—Architecture.—Medicine.—Eloquence.—History.—Philosophy. — —	p. 109.
CHAP. XXI.	
Rome under the kings. — — —	p. 116.
CHAP. XXII.	
Remarks on the reigns of the Roman kings. — —	p. 125.
CHAP.	

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. XXIII.

Rome under the consuls. — — — p. 127.

C H A P. XXIV.

Of the dictator.—The tribunes of the people. — p. 134.

C H A P. XXV.

Of the banishment of Coriolanus, who goes over to the Volsci.
p. 137.

C H A P. XXVI.

The Agrarian law—Decemvirs—Tyranny of Appius—Death of
Virginia—Abolition of the decemvirate—Fate of the decemvirs.
p. 141.

C H A P. XXVII.

The military tribunes—Censors—Siege of Veii—Triumph of
Camillus—General remarks. — p. 145.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Clusian besieged, and the Romans defeated by the Gauls—Rome
abandoned by its inhabitants, and burnt by the Gauls. p. 148.

C H A P. XXIX.

The city rebuilt—Camillus made dictator—Manlius condemned
and thrown headlong from the capitol—The first plebeian
consul—Death and character of Camillus. — p. 151.

C H A P. XXX.

The war with the Samnites—Manlius put to death for fighting
against orders—Fabricius is sent to treat with Pyrrhus, and
nobly discovers the intention of his physician to poison him.
p. 154.

C H A P. XXXI.

Carthage—First naval engagement of the Romans—First punie
war. — p. 161.

C H A P. XXXII.

The second punie war. — — — p. 165.

C H A P. XXXIII.

The third punie war, which terminated in the destruction of
Carthage. — — — p. 170.

C H A P. XXXIV.

The Gracchi—Sylla and Marius—Tyranny of Sylla—His resig-
nation of the dictatorship, and death. — p. 173.

C H A P. XXXV.

Causes of the decline and fall of the Roman Republic—Death of
Mithridates—Conquests of Pompey.—Catiline's conspiracy.
p. 183.

C H A P.

C O N T E N T S,

C H A P. XXXVI.

Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus, the first triumvirate.—Battle of Pharsalia—Death and character of Pompey. p. 188.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Cæsar spends nine months with Cleopatra in Egypt—Death and character of Cato—Assassination of Cæsar—His character. p. 200.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Antony's funeral oration over Cæsar's dead body.—Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus, the second triumvirate—Cicero assassinated—Battle of Philippi—Death of Brutus and Cassius. p. 206.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Lepidus is banished—Antony and Cleopatra—Battle of Actium—Death of Antony—Cleopatra poisons herself. p. 211.

C H A P. XL.

Augustus Cæsar—Reasons why Julius Cæsar failed in his attempt to make a revolution in the government, whilst Augustus succeeded—Moderation of Augustus—His death. p. 216.

C H A P. XLI.

Of the arts, sciences, and manners of the Romans—Military exercises of the Romans—Roman camp—Roman navy. p. 220.

C H A P. XLII.

Rome under the Emperors Tiberius and Caligula—Degeneracy and luxury of the Romans—Appius the epicure—The Spintrix—Caligula's treatment of his horse—Claudius—Nero—Galba—Otho—Vitellius—Conquest of Britain—Pætus and Arria—Messalina—Seneca—Persecutions of the Christians. p. 224.

C H A P. XLIII.

Vespasian—Siege of Jerusalem—Obstinacy and distress of the besieged—The temple taken and burnt—The sanctuary rifled by Titus—Jerusalem razed to the ground. p. 232.

C H A P. XLIV.

Titus—Dreadful eruption of Mount Vesuvius—Fire and plague at Rome—Domitian—Story of Appollonius Tyaneus—Nerva—Trajan—Plutarch's letter to Trajan—Remarkable expression of the same emperor—Strength of the Roman empire impaired by its extent—Reign of Adrian—Variety of his endowments—One of his maxims—He visits his whole empire—His remark with regard to physicians—The stanzas he addressed to his departing soul, — p. 237.

C H A P.

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. XLV.

Antoninus Pius—Marcus Aurelius, otherwise called Antoninus the philosopher—His excellent government—His army relieved by the prayers of a Christian legion—His philosophical maxims—His death. — — — p. 242.

C H A P. XLVI.

Miscellaneous remarks. — — — p. 245.

C H A P. XLVII.

Commodus—His tyranny—Pertinax—Why called the Tennis-ball of Fortune—The empire exposed to sale—Didius Julianus—His laconic speech to the senate—Is beheaded—Severus—His despotic government—His expedition into Britain, where he builds a wall—Caracalla and Geta divide the empire—Geta assassinated—Caracalla murdered—Macrinus—Heliogabalus—His female senate—His prodigality—Alexander's excellent disposition—His death—Maximin—His gigantic size, and extraordinary appetite—His tyranny—His death—Pupienus, Balbinus, and Gordian put to death—Philip celebrates the Secular Games—Is killed by a sentinel. p. 248.

C H A P. XLVIII.

Decius—The Christians are persecuted—Invasion of the Goths and Vandals—Decius loses his life in a quagmire—Gallus agrees to pay tribute to the Goths—Valerian defeated by the Persians, and taken prisoner—Various characters of Galienus.—His reign is marked by accumulated calamities—Claudius defeats the Goths—Remark of one of the Gothic generals respecting books—Character of Claudius—Aurelian defeats Zenobia, queen of Palmyra and the East—His vow—Longinus put to death—Aurelian assassinated. — — — p. 254.

C H A P. XLIX.

Tacitus, when made emperor, gives his estate to the public.—Works of Tacitus, the historian greatly honoured by him.—Achievements of Probus—Carus and his two sons. p. 261.

C H A P. L.

Partition of the empire under Diocletian—Resignation of Diocletian and Maximian—Philosophical turn of Diocletian.—Death of Maximian—Character of Constantius. p. 264.

C H A P. LI.

Constantine establishes Christianity—Causes of its success—Seat of empire transferred from Rome to Byzantium. p. 267.

C H A P. LII.

Causes of the decline and fall of the Roman empire. p. 272.

C H A P.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. LIII.

The destruction of the Roman empire, after the death of Constantine, and the events which hastened its catastrophe. p. 276.

CHAP. LIV.

Eastern empire—Justinian—The celebrated Belisarius—Siege and conquest of Constantinople by the Turks—Reflections on the fate of nations. ——— p. 282.

CHAP. LV.

A general view of modern history—Feudal system—Chivalry—The feudal system gives way to liberty and commerce—Crusades—Derivation of Lombard-street—Hanseatic league—First traveller.—Spirit of adventure and discovery shews itself—Europe emerges out of darkness—Balance of power—Thoughts on conquest—Peace and war. ——— p. 287.

CHAP. LVI.

FRANCE.

Transalpine Gaul was the name given to France by the Romans—The Franks gave it the name of France—Clovis, and the Merovingian race of kings. ——— p. 303.

CHAP. LVII.

Carlovingian race—Pepin—Charlemagne—His heroic enterprises and exploits—He encourages learning and the arts—His beautiful domestic character—Partition of his empire—Incursions of the Normans—Their religion and manners—Louis V. the last of the Carlovingian line. ——— p. 305.

CHAP. LVIII.

Hugh Capet, the founder of a new family—His character—Robert is excommunicated by the pope—His character—Henry I.—William duke of Normandy—Henry marries a Russian princess. ——— p. 310.

CHAP. LIX.

Philip I.—Regency of Baldwin—The rage for crusading breaks out, which is of great service to the French crown—Louis VI.—His character contrasted with that of Philip.—Louis VII. or the young—St. Bernard, with some account of the second crusade—Two kings hold the stirrups of pope Alexander on horseback. ——— p. 315.

CHAP. LX.

Philip II. surnamed Augustus—Distresses of the Asiatic Christians—The third crusade—Philip marries a Danish princess—His character as a legislator—His useful works. — p. 322.

CHAP. LXI.

Louis VIII.—Crusade against the Albigenes—Louis IX.—His character—The last crusade—Achievements of Louis—He is taken

CONTENTS.

taken prisoner and released—He dies in Africa—Philip III.
—Sicilian Vespers—Institution of parliaments, and admission of the commons—Suppression of the knights Templars—Flemish expedition—Domestic troubles—Philip's death and character—Louis X. surnamed the boisterous—Philip the Tall—Wisdom of the Salique Law—Charles IV. the last of the Capatine kings. — — — p. 326.

CHAP. LXII.

Philip VI. the first of the race of Valois—Claim of Edward III.—Hostilities commence, and Calais is taken—Origin of the title of Dauphin—Death and character of Philip. p. 335.

CHAP. LXIV.

John, surnamed the Good—Battle of Poitiers—John taken prisoner—He is ransomed—Returns to London and there dies. p. 337.

CHAP. LXV.

Charles V. surnamed the Wise—Situation of France at his accession—Much improved by the wisdom of Charles—The English lose ground—Death and character of Charles—Charles VI.—His insanity—Assassination of the duke of Orleans—A civil war—Successes of Henry V.—Death of Henry, and of Charles VI. — — — p. 339.

CHAP. LXVI.

Charles VII.—His distresses—Siege of Orleans—Expulsion of the English from the continent—Louis XI.—Anecdote of his Queen—Charles VIII.—His character—Louis XII.—His amiable character. — — — p. 345.

CHAP. LXVII.

Francis I.—Battle of Marignano—His interview with Henry VIII.—He is a candidate for the Imperial crown—He is taken prisoner—His character. — — — p. 349.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Henry II.—The dauphin marries Mary queen of Scots—Francis II.—Catherine of Medicis—Charles IX.—Massacre of the Hugonots—Extraordinary death of Charles—His character—Henry III.—Civil wars—Duke of Guise and his brother assassinated—Henry assassinated by a monk—His character. p. 352.

CHAP. LXIX.

Henry IV.—The battle of Ivry—Henry declares himself a Roman Catholic—Passes the edict of Nantz—Duke of Sully—His character—Henry's grand scheme—Is assassinated by Ravillac—Louis XIII.—Civil wars—Cardinal Richelieu supports

CONTENTS.

ports the German Protestants—His character, and that of Louis. — — — p. 357.

CHAP. LXX.

Louis XIV.—Prince of Condé—Mazarine—Atchievements of Louis—The confederacy of the European princes against him—His character. — — — p. 364.

CHAP. LXXI.

Louis XV.—Duke of Orleans, regent—Law's Mississippi scheme—Stanislaus—Elector of Saxony—Battle of Dettingen—Louis espouses the cause of the Pretender—Damien attempts to assassinate the king—Shocking punishment inflicted upon him—Peace of Aix la-Chapelle, and of Paris—Parliaments and princes of the blood banished—Death of Louis. p. 367.

CHAP. LXXII.

Louis XVI.—M. Neckar—Calonne—Assembly of the notables—M. de Brienne—Mirabeau—The parliament is banished, and recalled after a month's exile—The duke of Orleans is banished—The national assembly—The bailille—The royal fugitives apprehended—Massacres—National convention—France declared to be a Republic. — — — p. 372.

CHAP. LXXIII.

On French literature. — — — p. 385.

CHAP. LXXIV.

GERMANY.

Manners of the ancient Germans—Subdued by the Romans, Franks, and Charlemagne—The Imperial dignity becomes elective—Conrad—Otho—Henry IV.—Contentions between the emperors and popes—Guelphs and Ghibbelines—Progress of government in Germany—Punishment of Jernandi—Pragmatic sanction. — — — p. 488.

CHAP. LXXV.

Albert II.—His reign is the epoch of Austrian grandeur—Art of printing invented—Charles V.—Luther—Reformation of religion—Resignation and retirement of Charles V.—His character. — — — p. 392.

CHAP. LXXVI.

Peace of Westphalia—Prince Eugene—Peace of Utrecht—Queen of Hungary—Atchievements of the king of Prussia, and of generals Brown and Daun—Joseph II.—Leopold Joseph—Literature and fine arts. — — — p. 398.

CHAP. LXXVII.

ENGLAND.

Origin of the names, Albion and Britain—The Romans conquer Britain and introduce the luxuries of Italy—Inroads of

CONTENTS.

of the Scots and Picts—Saxon heptarchy—Introduction of Christianity—Laws of the Saxons—Egbert—Invasion of the Danes—Alfred—His valour, learning, and amiable character—Singular law of Athelstan—Danegelt, or first land-tax—Battle of Hastings—Arts, manners and customs of the Anglo Saxons. Danes and Britons. — — p. 40

CHAP. LXXVIII.

William the Conqueror—Doomsday-books—Origin of the wars between England and France—Murder of Becket—Henry II. submits to be scourged by Monks—Church plate melted down to pay Richard's ransom. — — p. 415

CHAP. LXXIX.

John lays his crown and regalia at the foot of the pope's legate—Magna Charta granted—John's treatment of a Jew—Coronation dinner of Edward I.—Cruel death of Edward II.—Institution of the Order of the Garter by Edward III.—Henry V.—Battle of Agincourt—Origin of the House of Tudor. — — — p. 418.

CHAP. LXXX.

Houses of York and Lancaster—The two roses—Edward IV. William Caxton—Advantages of printing—Richard III.—Causes his nephews to be murdered. — — p. 423

CHAP. LXXXI.

Henry VII.—Yeomen appointed—Star Chamber—Perkin Warbeck—Henry VIII. writes against Luther—Wolsey—Henry shakes off the authority of the see of Rome, and declares himself head of the national church. p. 426.

CHAP. LXXXII.

Edward VI.—Bridewell and St. Thomas's hospital built—Mary marries Philip II. and persecutes the Protestants—Calais is taken—Elizabeth establishes the Protestant religion, and defeats the Spanish Armada—Essex—Story of the ring—Elizabeth's death and character. — — p. 431.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

James I.—Gunpowder Treason—Carr, earl of Somerset—Villiers, duke of Buckingham—Sir Walter Raleigh—Death and character of James—Charles I.—Execution of Strafford and Laud—Decisive battle of Naseby—Execution of Charles. p. 436.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

Commonwealth—Oliver Cromwel—Richard Cromwel—Restoration of Charles II.—General Monk—Sale of Dunkirk—Pestilence and Fire in London—James II.—Revolution—Abdication of James. — — p. 439.

A
V I E W
O F
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Antediluvian World. Longevity, Religion, Policy
and Literature of the Antediluvians.*

AN authentic account of the creation of the world, and of the primitive state of man, is only to be found in the sacred records. There we are informed by Moses, the most ancient of all historians, that after the earth, by the immediate operation of the supreme Being, was gradually fitted, in the space of six days, for the habitation of man, Adam and Eve, the progenitors of the human race, were then created, and placed by their divine Maker, in a garden or paradise, situated in the Land of Eden.

This great event of the formation of the world, before which there was neither matter nor form of any thing, is placed according to the best chronologers, in the year before Christ 4004; and in 710th year of what is called the Julian period, which hath been adopted by some chronologers and historians, but is of little real service. The sacred records have fully determined the question, that the world was not eternal, and also ascertained the time of its creation with great precision.

VOL. I.

B

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VOL. I.

B

Our

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Our first parents had two sons, whose names were Cain and Abel. When they were grown up, they betook themselves to different employments. The former became a husbandman, and the latter a shepherd. Their tempers were as different as their occupations. Cain was wicked and avaricious, whilst Abel was just and virtuous.

It was usual in the infancy of the world to present oblations to the supreme Being, the giver of every good gift, and, when the brothers brought their offerings, the sacrifice of Abel, on account of his piety and goodness, was more acceptable to God, than the offering of Cain. In what visible manner he declared his acceptance, is not expressed by Moses; but it is the general opinion, that it was by *fire* or *lightning* from heaven, which consumed the sacrifice, as there are many examples in scripture of such a manifestation of favour *.

The preference shewn to the sacrifice of Abel excited the envy of his brother, which he could not help discovering on all occasions. At length his malice and resentment became so violent, that, one day, when they were together in the field, he rose up against his brother and killed him. This was the first act of violence committed in the world. Many actions of the same nature have proceeded from a similar principle. A spirit of emulation, when not duly managed, and made a *spur* to virtue, often takes an *unhappy* turn, and degenerates into vice.

The descendants of Seth, who was born to Adam after the murder of Abel, proved virtuous, those of Cain vicious.

Enoch, the fifth in descent from Seth, about a thousand years after the creation of the world, was a person of singular piety; and, as a reward for his exemplary behaviour, in so corrupt an age, was taken up into heaven, without tasting death. His son Methuselah died a natural death, after he had lived 969 years.

Before the translation of Enoch, Adam departed this life in the 930th year of his age; having, according to tradition, a little before his death, ordered his son Seth, and other branches of his family, to have no intercourse with the posterity of the murderer Cain.

The posterity of Seth, according to Josephus lived separate from the rest of the descendants of Adam, removing

* Universal History.

to the mountains in the vicinity of paradise, where they led a pastoral life, and for some time adhered to the strictest rules of piety and virtue.

In process of time however, men, generally unmindful of death, began to abuse longevity; for most of them lived full nine hundred years. Moreover, the family of Seth, intermarrying with that of Cain, gave birth to a gigantic * race of men, who degenerating into impious practices, broke through all the restraints of modesty and duty. The depravity and wickedness of mankind, therefore, daily increasing, the supreme Being determined to destroy the inhabitants of the earth by a flood.

Amidst this general corruption, one man, however, was found to be virtuous and good. Noah, the son of Lamech, zealous for the reformation of the world, became a preacher of righteousness to the degenerate race among whom he lived, employing both his counsel and authority to stop them in their mad career. When all his endeavours to reclaim them proved ineffectual, "he departed from them," says the celebrated Jewish historian, "with his wife and children, to avoid the violence with which they threatened him †".

Noah, having found favour with God, was instructed by him how to save himself in a certain large vessel, called *an ark*, with a few creatures of every species, from the general deluge of waters which he intended to bring upon the earth.

The state of the Antediluvian world, seems to have been exceedingly different from what it is at present. The earth, in all probability, was then very populous. As mankind then lived ten times longer than now, they must consequently have doubled themselves ten times sooner, so that many generations, which with us are successive, must have then been contemporary. Those who have formed calculations of the immense numbers of the Antediluvians, have supposed, upon a moderate computation, that there were in the world, before the flood, at least *one million of millions* of souls. To sustain such a prodigious number of inhabitants, (besides the brute animals, which were probably as numerous in proportion) the earth must have been much more fruitful before that desolation than it has been since.

* This may refer either to their stature and strength, or to their enormous impiety.

† Josephus.

Of all the strange matters, which occur in that period, there is nothing that looks so like a prodigy, as the longevity of those men, who first inhabited the earth; nor is any event so apt to inspire us with wonder as the disproportion between their lives and ours. Few now arrive at 80 or 100 years; whereas, from the joint testimony of sacred and profane writers, men before the flood, frequently lived to near 1000. Some persons, thinking it incredible, that the human frame should ever have endured to so great a period, suppose that the years mentioned by Moses, were equal only to our months. But this supposition is replete with absurdities. The lives of the Antediluvians would have been shorter than our own; the space betwixt the creation and the flood would not amount to 130 years; and children would have been born to persons only six years of age. It is therefore evident, that the *Antediluvian years* were solar years, of much the same length as those we now compute by.

Various causes are assigned for this longevity. Some think it owing to their sobriety, and the simplicity of their diet. Others attribute it to the excellency of their fruits, herbs, and plants, and to their abstinence from flesh. A learned physician, however, has advanced a contrary opinion, and thinks their longevity was owing to their eating *raw flesh*, the most nourishing parts of which are lost by *cooking*. Some think the strength of their *stamina*, or original principles, was the cause of their longevity; but the sons of Noah, who had all the strength of an Antediluvian constitution, fell far short of the age of their forefathers. The ingenious Dr. Burnet has therefore supposed, that the chief cause of this longevity was the salubrity of the Antediluvian air, and the undisturbed tranquillity of the atmosphere, which, after the flood, becoming turbulent and unwholesome, gradually undermined the human frame, till it soon fixed in the common standard, which has continued ever since.

A view of the religion, politics, arts, and sciences of the Antediluvians would be equally entertaining and instructive; but we can only make a few conjectures about them. Their religious rites were few and simple. They adored the great Creator, invoked him by prayer, and offered sacrifices to him. They had a divine promise concerning the Saviour of mankind; and Adam was present among them for 900 years, to instruct them in all he knew of the creation of the world.

There is not the least mention of their politics and civil constitutions. The patriarchal form of government, perhaps,

haps, was set aside, when tyranny and oppression began to take place. After the union of the two great families of Seth and Cain, it is likely there was scarce any distinction of civil societies, all mankind making but one great nation, divided into several disorderly associations, and living in a kind of anarchy, which probably contributed to their general corruption, as they used, in all probability, but one common language. For this reason chiefly, a plurality of tongues seems afterwards to have been miraculously introduced, to divide mankind into distinct societies, and thereby prevent any such total depravation for the future.

What proficiency they made in literature, or any of the arts, is very uncertain. It is even doubtful whether letters were known before the flood; and the books attributed to Adam, Seth, or Enoch, are forgeries too gross to deserve any consideration. Music and the art of working metals, seem only to have been found out by the seventh generation of Cain's line. The inventors of arts, however, not being limited by a short life, had time enough before them to carry things to perfection.

C H A P. II.

On the probable Causes of the Deluge.—On the Dispersion of Mankind, and the Origin of Civil Society.

WHILE the profligate Antediluvians were living in security and sensuality, they were suddenly destroyed by an immense deluge of water, which covered the face of the whole earth, in the year of the world 1656. Every living creature perished, except Noah and those that were with him in the ark. After the waters had continued several months upon the earth, they began to abate, part of them being exhaled by the heat of the sun, accompanied with a drying wind, and part retiring into the cavities of the earth. When they were entirely dissipated, the earth appeared again in that form in which we now see it; and, as soon as the land was dry and habitable, Noah turned out all kinds of creatures into the silent, wild, and desolate earth, there to propagate their species; whilst himself and family the only remains of the great shipwreck of human kind, betook themselves to the cultivating and repeopling of the earth; to form societies, and to establish laws and government.

Some have imagined, from the difficulties that occur in the Mosaic account, that Noah's flood was not universal, but confined to Judea and the adjacent regions, or at most to the continent of Asia. They think, that a small part only of the *primitive* earth was inhabited by mankind; and therefore it would be sufficient if that part was overflowed.

The scripture, however, expressly tells us, "that all the high hills under the whole heaven, were covered, and all flesh died that moved upon the earth." Besides, if the deluge was not universal, there was no occasion for the ark, as Noah and his family, as well as the beasts might have removed to another country. Over the whole globe too, there are strong evidences of an universal devastation by water; for shells and skeletons of sea-fish are found on the highest mountains. Crocodiles, natives of the Nile, have been discovered in the heart of Germany; and the skeletons of elephants in the midst of England.

The quantity of water required to overflow the earth, to the height mentioned by Moses, is so immense, that it is not easy to say, whence it came, or whither it went. Some are of opinion, that the sea and rain were rarefied. Others think that the centre of the earth was changed, and placed nearer to our continent, so that the subterranean abyfs, or vast collection of waters in the bowels of the earth, would be forced out by the pressure of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and would then cover all our hemisphere.

Dr. Burnet, in his Theory, conceives the Antediluvian world to have been of a smooth and even surface, without mountains and without a sea; and that the waters belonging to it were wholly inclosed under its upper crust, which formed a stupendous vault around them. He supposes, that this upper crust, by the continual heat of the sun, for several centuries, without any alleviation by a diversity of seasons, became dry and full of chinks, so that the sun's rays, penetrating to the internal abyfs, rarefied the waters, which, by their dilation, at length broke the upper surface. The frame of the earth being thus broken in pieces, those great portions, or fragments, into which it was divided, fell down into the abyfs, in different postures. The old world, at one shock, being thus dissolved, a new one was formed out of its ruins, divided into sea and land, with islands, mountains, and hills. The greatest part of the abyfs, he conjectures, constituted our present ocean, and thus the rest filled up the cavities of the earth.

This

This hypothesis, however, is liable to many objections. It seems difficult to conceive how the sun's heat could be so intense as to cause great cracks in the earth; or how the waters, were it possible they could be rarefied, should have sufficient force to break through an arch of solid matter, lying upon them, several hundred miles thick.

According to the theory of the learned Whiston, the deluge was owing to the near approach of a *Comet*, which, in its descent towards the sun, involved the earth in its tail and atmosphere for a considerable time. He supposes, that by attraction, it would raise immense tides in the sea, and make the internal waters force their way through the earth, which, with the great quantity of its watery atmosphere, intercepted by the earth, he thinks would be sufficient to raise the water, to the perpendicular height of three miles, which would exceed the highest mountains. The greatest part of the waters, he supposes, afterwards descended by the breaches and fissures made in the earth at the eruption of the abyss, and that another part of it formed the great ocean, there being only small seas and lakes before the flood.

The earth, however, by passing through the atmosphere of a comet, ran a greater risk of a conflagration than a deluge.

It seems necessary, therefore, on this occasion, to have recourse to the divine assistance. The subterraneous abyss, which is alluded to in many places of scripture, may be easily supposed to contain water much more than sufficient to complete the deluge. But, as no natural cause can be assigned to draw it from thence, the effect may, not unphilosophically, be attributed to the divine power. And we may observe, that though Moses makes mention of two natural causes, yet he introduces the supreme Being as superintending them; "Behold I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth."

With regard to the ark, in which Noah and his family were preserved from this destruction, we might have presumed, if the sacred writings had not informed us, that it was of more than human contrivance. The length of it was 300 cubits, the breadth 50, and the height 30. Its form was an oblong square, with a flat bottom and sloped roof, raised a cubit in the middle. It consisted of three stories, each of which, abating the thickness of the floors, might be about eighteen feet high.

About the beginning of the last century, Peter Janfon, a Dutch merchant, caused a ship to be built for himself, according

cording to the proportions of Noah's ark. Whilst the ship was building he was made a subject of ridicule. But it was afterwards found, that ships of this fashion were, in time of peace, most commodious for commerce, because they contained a third part more, without requiring any additional number of hands, and were also much better runners than any made before *.

The repeopling of nations after so general a destruction as the deluge occasioned, appears to us like a second world rising out of the former. So universal a shock, without doubt, caused great alterations, not only in the earth itself, but, as already observed, in the surrounding atmosphere; which now took a form not so friendly to the frame and texture of the human body. Hence the abridgement of the life of man, and that formidable train of diseases which have ever since made such havock in the world. The memory of the three sons of Noah, the first founders of nations, has been preserved among the several nations descended from them. Japhet who peopled the greatest part of the west, continued long famous under the celebrated name of Japetus. Ham was revered as a God by the Egyptians, under the title of Jupiter Hammon. And the memory of Shem has ever been held in honour among the Hebrews, his descendants.

The first considerable dispersion of mankind was occasioned by the confusion of languages sent among them by God, upon their engaging in a vain attempt to build a tower whose top might reach to heaven. It was built with burnt bricks, cemented with slime or bitumen, a pitchy substance which issued from the earth, in great abundance, in the plains of Babylon †.

This tower is supposed to be the same, with that which stood in the midst of the temple of Belus ‡, and is said to have been 660 feet in length, and as much in breadth. The building, which was stopt by divine interposition, had been carried on, according to some, twenty-two years §, and according to others forty ||.

The human race, being thus scattered over the earth, had no bond of connection, but every individual was surrounded with wants and dangers, which depended solely upon himself to provide for, and guard against. But as man is of a social nature, having something inherent in him, which attracts him to his kind, this state must have been of short duration. "The earliest and latest accounts," says an ingenious author, "collected from every quarter of the earth,

* Bibliotheca Biblica.

† Strabo and Justin.

‡ Herodotus.

§ Strabo.

|| Vitruvius.

" represent

“represent mankind as assembled in troops and companies ;
“and the individual not alone, shunning those of his species,
“but always joined by affection to one party, while he is
“possibly opposed to another ; employed in the exercise of
“recollection and foresight ; inclined to communicate his
“own sentiments, and to be made acquainted with those of
“others*,”

It is peculiar to the human race, that the species improves as well as the individual. Hence a noble field presents itself, to trace the rise and progress of society, and the history of civilization.

All nations have been rude, before they were refined. The commencement of history is from the wood and the wilderness. Mankind appear every where, at first, a weak and infant species ; and the most celebrated actions trace back their origin to a few wandering tribes, who, notwithstanding, endeavoured to transmit their names to posterity.

Historical monuments are prior to the invention of letters. The savage has his records, as well as the citizen. The native American delineates, in rude figures, the wars in which he has been engaged ; and rehearces, in wild strains, the battles of his fathers. A mound of earth, a pillar of stones, popular traditions and tales, are the first historical registers. As poetry is the first language of mankind, the first historians are poets. The bards, and the minstrels, who flourished in the dark ages of modern Europe, had their counter part in antiquity. They relate *real* events, though *adorned* with the colouring of fancy. History still appeals to Homer.

As man is possessed of the social principle in every stage of his being, he has also, at all times, and in all places, been possessed of reason and imagination, the two grand sources of invention. Art is natural to man. He can find his happiness and accommodation in any condition. But they who have contemplated him in every point of view, will be at no loss to determine, in what state he attaineth the perfection of his character. That state which affords the fullest exercise to his intellectual faculties, without injury to his corporeal powers, must be found in cultivated society ; in a community polished but not corrupted, and pressing forward in the career of military fame, policy, and arts. Hence the sage remark of Aristotle : “ We are to judge of man in his state of advancement, not in that of ignorance or barbarity ; a progress in knowledge and civility being natural to him ! ”

* Ferguson.

Such, according to the accounts of the most judicious travellers, and the observations of the most profound philosophers, is the natural, or rude state of man in all countries, and such his advances toward refinement. But these advances are very different in different regions of the earth. In northern countries, where the soil is rugged, the climate severe, and the spontaneous productions of the earth, fit for the support of human life, few and of small value, the progress of society is slow. There hunting is long the sole employment of man, and his principal means of subsistence. He feeds upon the flesh, and clothes himself with the skins of wild animals*.

But in southern latitudes, where the earth is more bountiful, the soil more susceptible of culture, and the use of animal food less necessary, the savage state is of shorter continuance. Little inclined, in such climates, to active exertions, mankind soon relinquish the pursuit of wild beasts, or cease to consider the chase as their chief occupation. They early acquire the art of taming and rearing the most docile and useful animals, and of cultivating the most nutritive vegetable productions.

In proportion as food becomes more plentiful, men are enabled to indulge more freely the appetite for society. They live together in larger bodies. Towns and cities are built. Private property in land is ascertained, and placed under the guardianship of laws. Agriculture is prosecuted; metals are discovered, and mines worked. Genius is called forth by emulation; and arts and sciences are invented. The political union among the members of the same community, is rendered more close, by an apprehension of danger from abroad; and the intercourse between them more general, from a sense of mutual convenience. Hence patriotism and internal traffic, the two great sources of national happiness and prosperity.

We find Assyria and Egypt, countries abounding in spontaneous productions proper for the food of man, and of easy culture, more early populous and civilized than any other regions intimately known to the ancient inhabitants of our division of the earth. India and China, favoured with similar advantages, boast as old an acquaintance with the arts of civil life. And the kingdoms of Mexico and Peru also, in the new world, owned their superiority in population and improvement over the other American districts, at the time of their discovery, to soil and climate. But America perhaps had not emerged from the ocean at the period of which I

* Modern Voyages.

speak. India had little, and China no connection with the affairs of this quarter of the globe.

The arrangements and improvements which take place in human affairs, result not from the efforts of individuals, but from a movement of the whole society.

From want of attention to this principle, History has often degenerated into the panegyric of single men, and the worship of names. Lawgivers are recorded, but who makes mention of the people? When moved with curiosity, we enquire into the causes of the singular institutions which prevailed at Sparta, at Athens, and at Rome, Historians think it sufficient to mention the names of Lycurgus, Solon, and Romulus. They seem to have believed that forms of Government were established with as much ease as theories of Government were written. Such visionary systems are foreign to human affairs. No constitution is formed by a conceit: No Government is copied from a plan*. Sociability and policy are natural to mankind. In the progress of society, instincts turn into arts, and original principles are converted into actual establishments. When an inequality of possessions takes place, the few that are opulent contend for power, the many defend their rights. From this struggle of parties a form of Government is established. The Laws of a nation are derived from the same origin with their Government. Rising, in this manner, from society, all human improvements appear in their proper place, not as separate and detached articles, but as the various, though regular phenomena of one great system. Poetry, philosophy, the fine arts, national manners and customs, result from the situation and spirit of a people. All that legislators, patriots, philosophers, statesmen, and kings can do, is to give a direction to that stream which is for ever flowing. It is this that renders History, in its proper form, interesting to all mankind, as its object is not merely to delineate the projects of princes, or the intrigues of statesmen, but to give a picture of society, and represent the character and spirit of nations.

Similar situations produce similar appearances; and where the state of society is the same, nations will resemble one another. The want of attention to this hath filled the world with infinite volumes. The most remote resemblances in language, customs, or manners, has suggested the idea of deriving one nation from another. Nature directs the use of all the faculties, that she hath given. — In favourable circumstances every animal unfolds its powers; and man is the same being over the whole world.

* Logan.

C H A P. III.

Of the Babylonian Monarchy.

AS the earth, after the deluge, was soon over-run by woods, which became the haunts of wild beasts, the great heroism of those times consisted in clearing the ground, and extirpating those savage animals, which held mankind under continual alarms, and hindered them from enlarging their habitations. Nimrod acquiring great reputation in this way, is called by Moses a mighty hunter before the Lord. As his enterprizes of this kind soon made him considerable, and naturally tended to rouse ambition in the hearts of men, we find him aiming at dominion over his fellow creatures, and establishing his authority upon conquest. He founded at Babylon, the first great monarchy, whose origin is particularly mentioned in history.

All ancient authors agree in representing the Babylonians as very early skilled in astronomy*. Herodotus ascribes to them the invention of the gnomon, or sun-dial, with the knowledge of the pole, and division of the day into twelve equal parts: and he gives us reason to believe, that the Egyptians, as well as the Greeks, were indebted to them for these discoveries in the astronomical science. This science, and every other part of philosophy, was chiefly cultivated among the Babylonians, by a body of men called *Chaldeans*; who were set apart for the superintendence of religious worship, and invested with great authority. They maintained that the universe was eternal, the work of an eternal God; whose will gave it birth, and providence whose continues to govern it.

The Chaldeans are supposed to have owed their early proficiency in astronomy, partly to the early civilization of *Assyria*, and partly to the nature of the country; where, in the midst of extensive plains, under a clear and serene sky, they had opportunity of observing, during the greater part of the year, the course of the heavenly bodies, and the whole chorus of the firmament, without the intervention of rain or clouds†. And the vast height of the tower, in the middle of the temple of Belus, must farther have contributed to perfect their astronomical observations.

This great temple at Babylon, erected to Belus, Bel, or Baal, the Lord of Heaven, in eastern language, peculiarly

* Plato and Aristotle.

† Cicero.

attracted

attracted admiration in old times. It was a square building, measuring two stadia, or about twelve hundred feet, on each side; and out of the middle of it rose a solid tower or pyramid, of a square figure also, six hundred and sixty feet high, and of an equal width at the base. On the top of that tower was formed a spacious dome, which served as an observatory to the ancient Chaldean astronomers. In this dome was a table of gold and a pompous bed, but no statue. The lower part, or body of the temple, which surrounded the tower, was adorned with sacred furniture in the same precious metal; a golden altar and table, and a magnificent statue of the god, seated on a throne of solid gold.

Various have been the opinions of antiquarians concerning the building, and design of this stupendous edifice, which greatly exceeded in altitude the highest of the Egyptian pyramids. It has been supposed to be the tower erected by the sons of Noah, in order to serve as a signal, and centre of union, to the growing families of the human race, after the flood *; and it has been represented as a sepulchral monument †. But its immensity and durability prove it to have been the work of a great people, skilled in the mechanical arts; and the contemplation of the heavenly bodies, by a priesthood devoted to the study of those bodies, appears evidently to have been the purpose for which it was built, and raised to such a mysterious height.

That it was made subservient to that end, we have the authority of Diodorus.

This intelligent historian also informs us, to what pitch the Chaldeans had carried their discoveries in astronomy. They had found out, and taught as fixed principles, that each of the planets moved in an orbit, or course peculiar to itself; that they were impelled with different degrees of velocity, and performed their revolutions in unequal portions of time; that the moon is nearer to the earth, and performs her revolution in less time than any of the solar planets; not because of the velocity of her motion, but by reason of the smallness of her orbit; that her light is borrowed, and her eclipses produced by the intervention of the shadow of the earth.

But the Chaldean priests, in contemplating the beauty and harmony of the *Solar System*, seem soon to have lost sight of the *Great Author of Order and Excellence*; or to have held the people in ignorance of that *Supreme Mover* of the stu-

* Prideaux.

† Strabo.

pendous machine of the universe, and to have represented the heavenly bodies as the Gods who govern the world; while they pretended to foretel the fates of men, and of kingdoms, by reading the aspects of those luminaries*. Hence from the unhappy conjunction of the astronomical science with priest-craft, *Solar* or *Star-worship*, and *Judicial Astrology*, were propagated over the East in very ancient times, and paved the way for idolatry and blind superstition.

C H A P. IV.

Of Egypt.—Government and Laws of the Egyptians.—Fertility of Egypt.—Antiquity, Arts, Sciences, and Religion of the Egyptians.

NO country has a better claim to our attention than Egypt. The Egyptians were the first civilized people of the world. The banks of the Nile gave birth to the arts and sciences. Here the first efforts of genius were disclosed, and specimens exhibited in the arts, which the Greeks were to admire, and to perfect into models for mankind. The wisdom of the Egyptians was the admiration of all antiquity. Their institutions, laws, and religious rites, passed into Greece. Hither poets resorted as to a classic land; philosophers, as to an academy of science; and legislators, as to the seat of wisdom and the laws. Distant nations sent ambassadors to consult them with regard to their political institutions; and even the Jews, who abhorred all the world besides, made an express law in favour of the Egyptians. The parent of the arts was held in veneration by all antiquity, though they beheld only her remains; and, if she appeared so lovely in ruins, what must she have been in her glory?

Nothing is more difficult than to form a just estimation of a singular people who exist no more. Their records are lost. All their monuments are mute; the first academy where science was taught has been long silent; and of the vast library in Thebes not a volume remains. Our materials of knowledge, concerning this singular nation, are scattered up and down the writings of the early Greeks, who travelled into Egypt.

To study the history of this people is to walk among ruins. In a scene of fallen palaces, defaced sculptures, and broken statues, the vulgar eye beholds nothing but fragments of de-

* Diodorus Siculus.

solation. The philosopher contemplates and admires amid the ruins of time; he beholds the remains of splendor: and, perhaps, may be led to attribute too much to a greatness that has passed away. By mixing causes with facts, and forsaking conjecture, when unsupported by reason, we shall avoid prejudices on both sides, and be enabled to form a just judgment with regard to the Egyptians.

The *formation* of Egypt, like Venice and Holland, in modern times, was gained from the waters, and in a great measure the creation of the human hand.

The Egyptians were a nation, as early as the time of Abraham, who lived in the sixth century after the deluge. In the days of Jacob and Joseph, commerce and agriculture had made considerable progress among them. Not satisfied, however, with their just claim to high antiquity, they carried their pretensions to an incredible extent. The priests of Thebes, according to Herodotus, assigned to their monarchy a duration of 11,340 years.

Laying aside incredible tales, Egypt presents us with an appearance, which we meet with in the early annals of every country; a number of independent principalities, each governed by their head or ruler. The chief of these were Thebes, Thin, Memphis, and Tanis. Menes, who united these under one government, was the first king of Egypt. The principalities of Egypt, now united under one head, began to figure as a kingdom.

The history of Egypt, from the reign of Menes to that of Sesostris, is involved in impenetrable obscurity. Sesostris ascended the throne 1650 years before the Christian æra. As Egypt, composed of different principalities, had been shaken by seditions, and was subject to revolts, in order to employ and unite his people, he meditated a military expedition against all his neighbours; or what, in those days, was called the conquest of the world.

An army of six hundred thousand infantry, twenty-four thousand cavalry, and seven and twenty thousand armed chariots, corresponded with the grandeur of such an undertaking*. Having put that vast body, or whatever might be his force, in motion, Sesostris first invaded Ethiopia, which he conquered; imposing upon the inhabitants a tribute of gold, ebony, and ivory†. He next built, on the Arabian gulf, a fleet of four hundred sail, which circumnavigated the Arabian Peninsula, while he entered Asia with his mighty host.

* Diodorus Siculus.

† Herodotus.

Every nation he attacked, on that vast continent, submitted to his power. We must not, however, believe, that he not only passed the Euphrates and Tigris, but also the Indus and Ganges, and subdued all the intermediate countries; extending his sway from the Mediterranean sea to the Eastern ocean, and from the Nile and the Ganges to the Tanais and Danube. Credibility is startled at such a sweep of conquest; and the narrative of the venerable Herodotus, whose authority, in regard to the affairs of ancient Egypt, ought to be highly respected, leads us to more moderation. He seems to confine the Asiatic conquests of Sesostris to Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor. And all ancient historians assign Scythia and Thrace, as the boundaries of the arms of the Egyptian conqueror in Europe.

Monarchies have often *brilliant* periods, after which they *sink* into obscurity. From this time the history of Egypt is covered with darkness, till the reign of Psammetticus, 670 years before Christ. Under his reign, and by the orders of Nechos his son, Phœnician navigators sailed round Africa. Apries, the son of Nechos, was dethroned by Amasis, in whose reign the Greeks began to have more frequent intercourse with Egypt. Solon and Pythagoras, followed by a train of sages, left their native land, to study the wisdom of the Egyptians. The reign of Psammetticus, the son of Amasis, is the epocha of the subjection of this famous monarchy. Subdued by Cambyzes king of Persia, in the 525th year before the Christian æra, Egypt continued tributary to the Persian power, till the throne of Cyrus was overturned by Alexander the Great.

After his death, when his dominions were divided among his generals, it fell to the charge of Ptolemy Lagus, whose posterity reigned in Egypt, till the time of Augustus, who having defeated Mark Anthony and Cleopatra, at the battle of Actium, 31 years before Christ, made it a Roman province.

That part of the history of Egypt, which Herodotus did not derive from his own knowledge and observation, but from the information given him by the priests of that country, is not wholly to be depended upon. For instance, he tells us a story of king Psammetticus, who, being desirous to know what nation was the most ancient, ordered two children to be nursed in such a manner, that it should be impossible for them to learn words by imitation. At two years of age, both at once cried out *beccos*, which, in the Phrygian tongue, signifies *bread*. From that time, adds he, the Egyptians yielded the claim
of

of antiquity to the Phrygians. If the story were true, it is probable they imitated the *bae* of the sheep, in the first word they articulated. Children learn words by imitation. They have the power of imitation, and, by repeated acts of it, they acquire the habit of speech. "Goropius Becanus," says Abbé Milot, "from the same story, endeavours to prove, that high Dutch was the first language, because *becker* in that language signifies a *baker*."

The form of government among the Egyptians was not despotic, but monarchical; and it is the only government of antiquity which corresponds to *our idea* of monarchy. Limits were set to the royal power by the laws; the order of succession was regulated; and the judicial power was separated from royalty.

The Egyptian monarchs, however, were generally under the dominion of the *priesthood*; hence the *unwarlike* and superstitious character of the nation*. Nor could it be otherwise; for the ecclesiastical order seems to have filled all civil offices in Egypt, from the ministers of state, down to the collectors of the public revenue †. That civil authority, with the possession of one third of the lands of the kingdom, must have given the priesthood great influence, independent of the awe inspired by their sacred function, and their privilege of interpreting the will of the Gods.

Laws are the *barometer*‡ of a people, with regard to barbarity or refinement; and the laws of the Egyptians give us a striking proof of their civilization.

The administration of justice is an object of the greatest importance. Convinced that on this depended the happiness of their state, as well as the ease and comfort of their subjects, the Egyptian kings were very scrupulous in the choice of their judges, who were thirty in number, and men of the best reputation. In the trial of causes no public pleadings were allowed, but each party supported his pretensions by a simple narrative in writing. The Egyptians were so far from admitting the clamorous harangues of lawyers, that they would not even suffer a man to speak in his own defence, that eloquence or sympathy might not bias the judgment of the court.

In order to prevent the protracting of suits, an answer on the part of the defendant, and one reply only was indulged on each side. The judges consulted together after both parties had been heard, before they proceeded to judgment, and the

* Herodotus.

† Strabo.

‡ Logan's Philosophy of History.

president turned an emblematical picture of TRUTH, which he wore upon his breast, towards the party in whose favour the decision was given. The image of *truth* was represented with closed eyes *; thereby signifying, that judges, in the discharge of their office, ought impartially to weigh the merits of the cause before them; blind to every circumstance but truth, and every object but justice.

The spirit of the laws of Egypt was worthy of that solemnity, with which they were administered. Respecting the natural liberty of man, they allowed a creditor to secure the *property*, but not the *person* of a *debtor*. In order, however, to temper the mildness of this law, every Egyptian was commanded to give in annually, to the governor of the province in which he resided, an attestation of his name, profession, and the means of his subsistence; and whoever forged such certificate, or could not make it appear that he lived by an honest calling, was punished with death. Solon borrowed this law, and introduced it among the Athenians. The punishment of death was also decreed against perjury; and false accusers were condemned to suffer the punishment, which would have been inflicted on the persons against whom the accusation was brought, if they had been convicted.

Coining false money, using false weights, and forgery of all sorts were punished by cutting off both the hands. Adultery was punished in the man with a thousand stripes, and in the woman with the loss of her nose. They who revealed to a public enemy, the secrets of the state, had their tongues cut out.

Robbers and sharpers were allowed to have a chief, to whom they promised to deliver all their booty. When any thing was stolen, the loser immediately applied to the chief of the gang, who restored the stolen goods to the right owner, upon his paying a fourth part of their value.

The virtue in highest esteem among them was gratitude; and the most excellent circumstance in their laws was, that every individual, from his infancy, was brought up in the strictest observance of them. A new custom in Egypt, says an elegant biographer, was a kind of miracle†. All things there ran in the old channel; and the exactness with which little matters were adhered to, preserved those of more importance.

To be deprived of funeral honours, so highly valued by all ancient nations, the Egyptians considered as the greatest possible disgrace; yet could none of them expect to enjoy those

* Diodorus Siculus.

† Plutarch.

honours, unless by a public and solemn decree. This decree was pronounced by a court of inquest; consisting of forty judges, of high reputation for probity; who listened to all accusations against the person deceased, and denied him public burial, if it appeared that he had been a bad member of society. But if no stain was fixed upon his memory, his relations were permitted to bury him with as much funeral pomp as they thought proper.

Nor were the Egyptian monarchs exempted from that awful jury. On the day appointed for the royal funeral, a court of inquest, according to law, was held. There are all complaints and accusations against the deceased monarch were received. And if it was found that he had been a good prince, the whole multitude of his subjects, assembled on the occasion, accompanied with loud acclamations the priest who pronounced his panegyric; but if it appeared that his administration had been cruel or oppressive, an universal clamour, or murmur of disapprobation ensued. Hence many Egyptian kings were deprived of funeral honours by the voice of the nation, and their bodies exposed to public insult.

These laws and institutions command our veneration, whether we consider them in a moral or political view; and give us a very high idea of the sagacity of the ancient Egyptians.

Whoever is the least acquainted with literature, knows that the vast fertility of Egypt is owing to the annual overflowing of the Nile. It begins to rise when the sun is vertical in Ethiopia, and the annual rains fall there, viz. from the latter end of May to September, and sometimes October. At the height of its flood in the Lower Egypt, nothing is to be seen in the plains, but the tops of forests and fruit trees, their towns and villages being built upon eminences either natural or artificial. When the river is at its proper height the inhabitants celebrate a kind of jubilee, with all sorts of festivities. When the banks are cut, the water is let into a grand canal, which runs through Cairo, from whence it is distributed into cuts, for supplying their fields and gardens. This being done, and the waters beginning to retire, such is the fertility of the soil, that the labour of the husbandman is next to nothing. He throws his wheat and barley into the ground in October and May. He turns his cattle out to graze in November, and in about six weeks, nothing can be more charming than the prospect which the face of the country presents, in rising corn, vegetables, and verdure of every sort. Oranges, lemons, and fruits, perfume the air. The culture of pulse, melons, sugar canes, and other plants, which require

moisture, is supplied by small but regular cuts from cisterns and reservoirs. Dates, plantanes, grapes, figs, and palm trees, from which wine is made, are here plentiful. March and April are the harvest months, and they produce three crops; one of lettuces and cucumbers (the latter being the chief food of the inhabitants), one of corn, and one of melons. The Egyptian pasturage is equally prolific, most of the quadrupeds producing two at a time, and the sheep four lambs a year.

The pyramids of Egypt have been often described. Their antiquity is beyond the researches of history itself, and their original uses are still unknown. The basis of the largest covers eleven acres of ground, and its perpendicular height is 500 feet. It contains a room thirty-four feet long, and seventeen broad, in which is a marble chest, but without either cover, or contents, supposed to have been designed for the tomb of the founder. In short, the pyramids of Egypt are the most stupendous, and, to appearance, the most useless structures that ever were raised by the hands of men. Whether they were intended for sepulchral monuments, or for some other purpose religious or civil, they are a lasting proof of the vanity of the ancient Egyptians. Travellers, who have visited Egypt, are divided in opinion as to the kind of materials of which they are composed. A late celebrated traveller thinks*, that the pyramids were originally a mass of rock, cut into their present form by human labour and art. This conjecture is perhaps more fanciful than solid. It is more probable, that they were built of materials calcined by fire; perhaps the earth taken out of the lake Mæris.

This lake was dug by order of an Egyptian king, to correct the irregularities of the Nile, and to communicate with that river by canals and ditches which still subsist, and are evidences of the utility, as well as grandeur of the work.

The *labyrinth* is a curiosity thought to be more wonderful than the pyramids themselves. It is partly under ground, and cut out of a marble rock, consisting of twelve palaces, and one thousand houses, the intricacies of which occasion its name.

The *mummy-pits*, so called for their containing the mummies or embalmed bodies of the ancient Egyptians, are subterraneous vaults of a prodigious extent; but the art of preparing the mummies is now lost; it is said that some of the bodies, thus embalmed, are perfect and distinct at this day, though buried 3000 years ago.

* Bruce.

Many of these mummies have been brought from Egypt, and are to be found in the cabinets of the curious. The coffins in which they are deposited are very thick and generally of sycamore, which does not rot so soon as other wood. Some, however, are of stone, and others of pieces of cloth pasted together. The top of the coffin is usually cut into the shape of a head, with a face painted on it resembling a woman. The rest is one continued trunk, having at the lower end a broad pedestal. Some of them are handsomely painted with several hieroglyphics. The bodies appear wrapped up in a shroud of linen, upon which are fastened divers linen scrolls painted with sacred characters. The face is covered with a kind of head-piece of linen cloth, on which the countenance of the person is represented in gold. The feet have also a cover of the same painted with hieroglyphics, and fashioned like an high slipper. The whole corpse is swathed in linen fillets with great art and neatness, and with so many casts, that there cannot be less than 1000 yards of filleting upon one body. And in the inside of the body are found medicaments of the consistence and colour of pitch or bitumen, which become soft by the heat of the sun.

The Egyptians were the inventors of many useful *arts* and *sciences*. In early ages, they were famous for wisdom and learning, as appears from many ancient writers, and even from the sacred scriptures, where, to the honour of Moses, it is said, "he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

Geometry was first invented in Egypt. As the bounds of their lands were annually disturbed by the overflowing of the Nile, necessity obliged the Egyptians to think of means for accurately surveying and measuring them.

It is generally supposed that the Egyptians, on account of the constant serenity of the air, were among the first who observed the courses of the *planets*; though Herodotus gives the honour of the *invention* of astronomy to the Babylonians. It does not appear, however, that the Egyptians had an exact knowledge of the *theory* of the planetary motions, so as to make artificial calculations. Thales the Milesian is said to be the first who ventured to foretel an eclipse.

Tosortherus, a king of Memphis, was the inventor of *physic*, and from thence was called *Æsculapius*. He was much more ancient than the Grecian *Æsculapius*, being cotemporary with the successor of Menes.

In the time of Joseph, the same persons seem to have been both embalmers and physicians. In aftertimes, however, it was otherwise; for, according to Herodotus, no physician

was permitted to practice in more than one branch of the art, every disease having its own physician.

The *philosophical doctrines* of the Egyptians may best be known by considering those of the ancient Greeks, who were their *scholars*, and travelled into Egypt for instruction in the more sublime parts of learning. It was from that country, in all probability, that Pythagoras received the knowledge of the ancient system of the world, which bears his name, and is now so generally admitted.

The Pyramids, and other amazing works already mentioned, are sufficient proofs of the skill of the Egyptians in mechanics, painting, and sculpture.

The Egyptian priests were the depositaries of all their learning. To them was intrusted the care of their philosophy and other sciences, as well as their religion and sacred rites. Those who wanted to be instructed, were obliged to apply to them; and, for the purposes of instruction, they had colleges or academies in several parts of the kingdom. Their learning was inscribed partly on pillars, and partly committed to writing in the sacred books.

Other nations, besides the Egyptians, used to preserve the memory of things by inscriptions on columns. The Babylonians kept their astronomical observations engraven on *bricks*; and Democritus is said to have transcribed his moral discourses from a Babylonish pillar. But the most famous of all others were the pillars of Hermes in Egypt. It is certain, that the Egyptian historians and Greek philosophers took many things from those pillars. Pythagoras and Plato read them, and borrowed from them many philosophical precepts. They stood in some subterraneous apartments near Thebes, and were still remaining about the end of the fifth century.

The learning, contained in the inscriptions and sacred books, was of two kinds. Part of it was dark and mysterious, and communicated to very few; another part was obvious to the common people and to strangers. The monuments of the superior sort of learning, besides being hidden in the private apartments of the temples were written in a character not commonly understood, and guarded by the priests, who were extremely difficult of access. Of this we have a memorable instance in their treatment of Pythagoras. That philosopher was recommended by Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, to Amasis king of Egypt, who gave him letters to the priests, ordering them to communicate their knowledge to him. He went first to those of Heliopolis, who referred him to the college at Memphis as their seniors; and from Memphis he was sent under the same pretext to Thebes. After many di-

latory excuses, not daring absolutely to disobey the king's command, they endeavoured to deter him from his purpose by enjoining him a severe and troublesome noviciate, containing many things contrary to the religion of the Greeks; which, however, he underwent with invincible patience and courage.

Hieroglyphical or emblematical writing was used in Egypt that is the figure of an object was made to represent the object. Before the characters of the alphabet were invented, this, perhaps, was the original method of writing used by all nations. Our letters came from the Romans, the Roman alphabet from the Greeks; and the Greek characters, some of which are of Hebrew original, came from the Phœnicians.

The Egyptians concealed their doctrines from popular conception, by wrapping them up in hieroglyphics, symbols, enigmas, and fables. It is by no means improbable, that the use of the figures of animals, as characters, introduced the strange worship which was paid them, by that nation *. The people, accustomed to behold the figures in their temples, began to forget their primary use, which was only to denote and express certain qualities of their gods, princes, and great men, and at length imagined they referred to the animals themselves. Thus, they easily transferred their worship from the dead picture to the living animal, whose representation it was.

Popular superstition among the Egyptians was the same that it is every where, absurd, ridiculous, contradictory, and incredible.

The Philosophical Religion was the same that has obtained, among all civilized nations, the belief of ONE ETERNAL MIND, the Creator of the world. The inscriptions on the Temple of Sais, "I AM THAT WHICH IS, AND WAS, AND SHALL BE; NO MORTAL HATH LIFTED UP MY VEIL," conveys sentiments with regard to Deity, to which, in the revolution of ages, the human genius hath been unable to make any addition.

The political object, not only of the Egyptian religion, but also of that of the Greeks and Romans, was to keep mankind in ignorance. They all endeavoured to conceal from the people, the simple Doctrine of ONE GOD, the Creator and Preserver of the Universe, as dangerous to the state; and wrapped up the principles of their theology in symbols, allegories, or fabulous legends.

De Pluche' History of the Heavens,

But the theology of the Egyptians, suited to the gloomy character of the nation, was more especially involved in darkness. The Egyptian Priests, jealous of their temporal authority, as well as their spiritual dominion, took advantage of the proneness of the people to superstition, to plunge them into the grossest idolatry. Learned themselves, they imposed upon the ignorant and credulous vulgar; and made them worship *every thing in Nature* but its great *Author*, the only true and *proper object* of human adoration. Brutes, reptiles, the deadly asp, and all the serpent breed; the amphibious and devouring crocodile; all the fowls that wing the air, and all the fish that swim the deep; whatever could inspire *hope*, excite *fear*, or be considered as the *cause* of *Good* or *Evil*, was transformed into a *God* in Egypt, and held up to the idolatry of the people; the images of all these being used in the *Symbolical Figures*, and *Hieroglyphical Inscriptions*, on the walls and porticoes of the Egyptian temples.

The great body of the people, being utterly unacquainted with the meaning of their sacred symbols, looked no farther than the mere image, or the creature which it naturally represented.

C H A P. V.

Of the Assyrian, or First Great Monarchy.

A Detail of events in the Assyrian, Chaldean, and Persian empires is not to be obtained. A few rays of light serve only to break the darkness with which they are covered. What remains of their annals resembles an inscription upon a tomb; we see that mighty nations have fallen, but find, at the same time, the impossibility of attaining the knowledge of their History.

Sufficient materials, however, remain to convey a more useful knowledge; the rise and progress of these kingdoms, the condition of mankind, the state of the arts, and of manners.

Kings and nations are not the subjects of history in the early ages of the world. Asia, like Europe, was originally divided into small co-ordinate states; and petty principalities, independant of one another, were universally established. The empires of Assyria, Chaldea, and Persia, were the effects of conquests, the growth of time, and the work of ages.

The

The first conquests were made by people in the pastoral state, or those who cultivate ground. Roaming shepherds, having the sword always in their hands, set out on expeditions which terminated in conquests, though depredation was the immediate object. They extended their territories without any plans of dominion. The less warlike provinces, inhabited by people who cultivate the ground, submitted voluntarily, and paid tribute; and the leader of a barbarous tribe became the founder of a monarchy.

The voice of History confirms this account. Most of the great conquests in every quarter of the world have been made by people in this description. The kingdoms established in the east retained the marks of such an original. Continually engaged in military expeditions, they conducted them in the manner of barbarians, by sudden irruptions, and for the sake of plunder. When Nebuckadnezzar marched against Jerusalem, he knew not whither he was going. Having come to a place where two roads met, he consulted fortune on which side to turn his arms, and the lot fell upon Jerusalem.

Their armies were not a regular body of soldiers, but a confused multitude without order. No disciplined troops were kept in pay; the soldier had no reward but his share of the plunder. The first armies were composed of infantry. When man had extended dominion over the inferior animals, it soon occurred that these might be employed with advantage in battle. In perusing the history of different nations, we find that horses, elephants, camels, dogs, and even lions have been trained to war. Of all animals the horse is the most noble associate of man. What may appear surprising, the war chariot has always preceded the use of cavalry. Not only the Asiatics but the Greeks, the Gauls, and the Britons rode in chariots of war before cavalry was introduced. The Asiatics were totally unacquainted with the military art. Wars were terminated in a single campaign; and the fortune of a battle decided the fate of a kingdom. The consequences of victory in Asia, were of that dreadful kind which mark the atrocity of ancient manners. The object of war was extermination. To leave none to *tell tidings* was among these people the law of nations.

The rise of great kingdoms is the period when ferocity begins to soften, and the state of society to improve. Living in great societies, men acted on a larger scale, and formed juster maxims of government. In the war of a nation against a nation, the personal animosity and revenge of rival tribes were forgot. The conqueror learned to make a better use of his victories; and, instead of putting his enemies to the sword

sword reduced them to slavery. In a numerous nation arms are in the hands of a few; the remainder cultivate the arts of peace, and manners grow gentle. A new career is opened for ingenious spirits to enter. In the bosom of great empires, the arts were invented, the sciences arose, and refinement began its course.

Ashur, the second son of Shem, conducted a large body of adventurers into Assyria, and laid the foundation of Nineveh. Ninus, the successor of Ashur, after the death of Nimrod, seized upon Chaldæa and Babylon, and united the kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon.

This great prince is said to have conquered all the then known parts of Asia and Egypt, and to have enlarged the city of Nineveh, which had been built by Ashur. The walls were raised an hundred feet high, having fifteen hundred towers, two hundred feet in height, to serve equally for its ornament and defence. The circumference of the whole city was four hundred and eighty stadia, or sixty miles.

Ninus appears to have been the first prince, who united the spirit of conquest with the science of politics; for to him may reasonably be ascribed the division of the Assyrian empire into provinces, and also the institution of the three councils, and the three tribunals, by which government was administered, and justice distributed, in subordination to the will of the sovereign.

Semiramis, the widow of Ninus, a woman of masculine abilities, who assumed the supreme power during the minority of her son Ninyas, and swayed the sceptre forty-two years, is reported to have shed new lustre over that monarchy which her husband had founded. She visited in person every part of her extensive dominions; built cities in various districts of the Assyrian empire; cut roads through mountains, in order to facilitate intercourse between contiguous provinces; traversed Egypt, and conquered Ethiopia, if we may credit her historian*. Having overawed the tributary princes, by the number and valour of her troops, as well as by the vigour of her administration, she was encouraged, we are told, to undertake the conquest of India; but failed in that grand enterprize, and with difficulty made her escape into Bactria, with the remains of her immense army. The kingdom of Bactria, which lay to the east of the Caspian sea, and on the confines of Asiatic Scythia, is said to have been the last, and most arduous conquest of Ninus.

* Ctesias, apud Diod. Sicul. lib. ii.

To Semiramis is ascribed the building of the walls of Babylon, the temple of Belus, and other magnificent works, which were ranked among the wonders of the ancient world. She is believed to be the first woman that ever swayed a sceptre; and the ability with which she reigned, has induced a celebrated philosopher to maintain, "That women, as well as men, ought to be intrusted with the government of states, and the conduct of military operations *."

But, admitting this position to be just, so far as it respects talents, the example of the Assyrian queen seems also to prove; what subsequent experience has seldom contradicted: "That women, in exercising sovereignty, lose the virtues of their own sex, without acquiring those of ours." For unbridled ambition, and inordinate lust, are the strongest traits in the character of Semiramis; who sunk the mother in the usurping and aspiring empress, and the matron in the vain glorious and insatiable prostitute; and who, in gratifying her passion for dominion, and her appetite for sensual pleasure, paid no regard to justice or humanity.

To the opinion of Plato, an amiable historian †, opposes the reasoning of Aristotle and Xenophon; who assert "That the Author of Nature, in giving different qualities of mind and body to the two sexes, has marked out their different destinations." He therefore justly concludes, "That woman is destined for the conduct of domestic affairs, in the superintendence of which, far from being degraded, she finds her most honourable station, and exercises her proper empire; her brightest talents appearing to most advantage, under the veil of modesty and obedience."

Ninyas, who succeeded to the Assyrian sceptre on the death of his imperious mother, being a prince of a mild disposition, employed himself in framing regulations for the security of his throne, and the conservation of those dominions which his parents had acquired. Having no turn for war or conquest, he did not command his troops in person, agreeable to the custom of ancient kings; but, confining himself chiefly to his palace, committed the conduct of his armies to his most approved officers. Nothing remarkable has been recorded concerning the successors, of Ninyas. It is barely said, that they ascended the throne, lived in indolence, and died in their palace at Nineveh.

Sardanapalus was the last of the ancient Assyrian kings. Contemning his indolent and voluptuous course of life, Arbaces, governor of Media, withdrew his allegiance, and rose

* Plato.

† Rollin.

up in rebellion against him. He was encouraged to this revolt by the advice and assistance of Belesis, a Chaldean priest, who engaged the Babylonians to follow the example of the Medes. These powerful provinces, aided by the Persians and other allies, who despised the effeminacy, or dreaded the tyranny of their Assyrian lords, attacked the empire on all sides. Their most vigorous efforts were in the beginning unsuccessful. Firm and determined, however, in their opposition, they at length prevailed, defeated the Assyrian army, besieged Sardanapalus in his capital, which they demolished, and became masters of the empire, in the year before Christ 821.

After the death of Sardanapalus, the Assyrian world was divided into three kingdoms, viz. the Median, Assyrian, and Babylonian. Arbaces retained the supreme power and authority, and fixed his residence at Ecbatana in Media. He nominated governors in Assyria and Babylon, who were honoured with the title of kings, while they remained subject, and tributary to the Median monarchs. Belesis received the government as the reward of his services; and Phul was entrusted with that of Assyria. The Assyrian governor gradually enlarged the boundaries of his kingdom, and was succeeded by Tiglath-pileser, who carried the Jews captive into Assyria; Salmanassar took Samaria, and Senacherib besieged Jerusalem; but the angel of God destroyed 185,000 of his army in one night. On his return from this expedition, he was murdered by his own sons, who were soon after cut off by Merodach. The next kings were Nebucodnosor and Benmerodach; and then Nehopolazzar, father of Nebuchadnezzar the Great, who, proud, and puffed up with his victories over the Jewish and neighbouring nations, ran distracted, but after seven years recovered. Upon his death, his son Evil-merodach succeeded, who left the throne to his son Belshazzar. This prince, in his jollity, prophaning the holy vessels brought from Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar to the temple of his idol Belus, saw a hand writing appear against him on the wall; soon after which he was slain, Babylon taken, and the empire transferred to Darius Cyaxares the Mede, and after his death to his son-in-law Cyrus the Persian, who established the second universal monarchy, called the Persian empire.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Persian, or Second Great Monarchy.

THE Persian monarchy, originally of small extent, being thus founded by Cyrus the Great, let us just take a view of its vast dominions. It included all India, Assyria, Medea, and Persia, and the parts about the Euxine and Caspian seas. He was surnamed the Great, on account of his heroic actions and great achievements. In an expedition against the Scythians, he was surprised by an ambuscade of the enemy, and slain.

This great man was educated according to the strict and excellent manner of the Persians, who paid the greatest attention to the education of their children. He possessed those natural and acquired qualifications, which render a person fit to govern; and had he not indulged too strong a propensity for conquest, might have made his subjects truly prosperous and happy. It is not the king who grasps at an extensive territory, that is a blessing to his people; but he who cultivates the arts of *peace*, establishes good laws, and makes his subjects honest and industrious.

The information given us of Cyrus by profane authors, leaves the mind in uncertainty. Ctesias, Herodotus and Xenophon, almost contemporary historians, give contradictory accounts of him. All we know of him is, that he was the son of Cambyzes, king of Persia, and of Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes, that he succeeded to the crown of both kingdoms; that he defeated the Babylonians, took Babylon, and put an end to that monarchy; that he permitted the Jews, by a decree, to return to their native land; and that, by his conquests, he laid the foundation of a great empire. He understood the art of war, and made improvement in the arms and discipline of his soldiers. He was ambitious and thirsted for power, which impelled him to make war on his neighbours, and to seize, by force of arms, that to which he had no just title. Like many other conquerors, who wish to extend their dominion by the sword, he was the scourge and destroyer of the human race.

He was succeeded by his son Cambyzes, in scripture called Artaxerxes. He added Egypt to his empire; but did not long enjoy his victories. Having plundered and demolished the temple of Jupiter Ammon, he was killed by his own sword unsheathing, as he mounted his horse.

His

His successor was Darius Hystaspes, under whom the Babylonians revolting, Darius besieged them, took their city, beat down their walls, and gave the inhabitants for a spoil to the Persians. After a reign of thirty-six years, he declared Xerxes his successor, and died.

Xerxes invaded Greece with an innumerable army, resolving to reduce it all under his subjection, but being defeated, he was killed by his own subjects, who despised him for his ill success.

The Persians were often at war with the Greeks, but could make no impression upon them, as long as they continued *virtuous* and *united*. Men under the influence of virtuous principles, and animated with a love of liberty, are always an overmatch for those who would enslave them.

Artaxerxes Longimanus, the son of Xerxes, succeeded to the throne; after him Darius Nothus; and then Artaxerxes Mnemon, who left the kingdom to his son Ochus. Upon his succession, great revolts were made in the empire.

None of the kings, who sat on the throne of Persia after Cyrus, were attentive to secure and promote the happiness of their subjects. Intoxicated with an unjust idea of power, affecting more than a royal magnificence, living in all the splendor of Asiatic luxury, they indulged without restraint the most abominable passions. As polygamy was allowed among the Persians, these kings carried it to the most wicked excess. They not only had many wives, but even married their own sisters. They aspired to divine honours, and with the most wanton cruelty, sported with the lives of their subjects. Whilst *they* indulged themselves in effeminate and vicious pleasure, the viceroys, who had the care of the provinces, like some modern governors, pillaged the inhabitants to enrich themselves; and like them too, were themselves pillaged, when they returned to court.

Ochus was poisoned by Bargoas, and Arses made king in his stead. Bargoas poisoned himself also, in the second year of his reign, and made Codomannus king, who then assumed the royal name of Darius. Alexander the Great of Macedon, being made general of the Grecians against the Persians, marched into Asia with a small, but brave army, and, after two successful battles, entirely subverted that unwieldy monarchy, in less time than a foreign enemy could, in these days, make himself master of one county in this island. Thus the empire of the Persians was transferred to the Grecians, after it had stood about 209 years. This event happened 330 years before Christ.

The

The oriental empires have been always despotic. No government, however, is a system of oppression from the beginning *. The growth of power, particularly of tyrannical power, is slow and gradual. Ancient customs were a barrier against despotism. The governments of Asia, though despotic in the form of administration, were at the beginning favourable to the subject. It was the study of the sovereign to encourage agriculture, and make his kingdom flourish. The manner too, in which the royal revenues were raised, was not oppressive to the subject. The provision for the monarch was a part of the territory appropriated to his use. The wars in which they engaged became another source of their wealth. The tributes were exacted only from the conquered nations; and Darius was the first who, after many precautions, imposed a tax upon his own subjects. The manner of living, also, in the times we are now contemplating, was simple and moderate. Magnificence and splendor were viewed as the appendages of empire, and confined to public works, to temples and to palaces. Their wars, too, though dreadful, were not lasting. Hence Asia was populous and flourishing, under the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, notwithstanding the wars it sustained, and the revolutions it underwent.

The history of the arts in Asia, both in ancient and in modern times, presents us with a very singular appearance. In the first ages, they made a progress which astonishes us by its rapidity; but having attained a certain stage, they make no further advances. While the Europeans are continually improving and striking out new inventions, the Asiatics continue at the same point from which they set out. The arts and sciences, though cultivated from the earliest times, have never been carried to any degree of perfection. Notwithstanding their study of astronomy, they could never calculate an eclipse; although they bent their genius to architecture, they never invented the method of casting an arch. In poetry the same tropes and figures constantly recur. In painting, we find a continual repetition of given forms. All human improvements stopped in a certain stage of their career.

* Logan.

C H A P. VII.

Of Syria.—Palestine.—And the Jewish Nation.

SYRIA, which comprehends a great part of Lower Asia, is a delightful and fertile country, naturally abounding in palm-trees, yielding the choicest dates. and producing, by culture, corn, wine, and oil. It is agreeably diversified with hills and vallies, and washed in its whole extent by the sea, which, with refreshing breezes from the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus, whose lofty summits are frequently covered with snow, moderates the heat of the climate.

Of Syria, in early times, we have better information, than of any other region on the face of the globe. Here we find men living as nearly as possible, in a state of nature, without any legal institutes, under the fathers of families, and heads of tribes *. Yet here we discover no traces of that unfeeling barbarism, and brutal licentiousness, which poets have feigned, and credulous historians and philosophers adopted, concerning the manners of mankind in such a state. Here we find children obedient to their parents, and servants to their masters; subjects sharing with their chief all deliberations respecting general interest †; leagues solemnly ratified, and faithfully observed; marriages contracted from love and from family connection ‡; the sanctity of matrimonial engagements held in the highest reverence; the loss of female virtue thought worthy of death §; and adultery considered as a crime that called for the vengeance of Heaven.

In Syria, during those early times, we see religion appearing in its most amiable and simple form: one God, the creator of all things, every where adored, without images, altars, or an established priesthood; equal purity in faith and worship, principle and practice. But in proportion as wealth and luxury increased among the Syrian tribes, their religion grew more sensual. Like all eastern nations they became addicted to the worship of the heavenly bodies, and priestcraft employed images, and the whole apparatus of delusive superstition to attract the devotion of the people. They seem to have had, as early as the days of Moses, moveable tabernacles, vocal statues, and whatever could impose upon the credulity of the vulgar ||.

* Genesis, ch. xiii.

† Genesis, ch. xxiv.

‡ Genesis, ch. xxiii.

§ Genesis, ch. xxxvii.

|| Selden.

Corruption of manners necessarily followed the corruption of religion; for corrupt religion can find an apology, or an expiation for every crime that does not clash with its own interests. The manners of the Assyrians accordingly appear to have been deeply corrupted, when Moses led the Hebrews toward their frontiers; and to have continued so in consequence of the corruptions of religion for almost two thousand years*.

The early part of the history of the Hebrews is related in the first book of Moses, with simplicity and minuteness. There we meet with an exact picture of ancient manners in the lives of the patriarchs, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The story of Joseph and his brethren is a master-piece in its kind. It owes all its impressive power to the simplicity of the language, and the affecting situation it represents. These are natural beauties not to be equalled by the utmost efforts of art.

In the course of the narration, we are led with the Israelites into Egypt, where they increase so rapidly in wealth and numbers, as to excite the envy, jealousy, and fears of the natives. Rigorous measures were therefore adopted with regard to them. "Come," said the rulers of the country, "Let us deal wisely with the children of Israel, lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies and fight against us." According to these ideas of policy, their burdens were doubled; their lives were made bitter with hard service; and at length an order was issued, charging them to drown all their male offspring. But the God of their fathers raised up for them a deliverer, who rescued them from cruelty, and brought them out of the land of bondage.

In the journey of these people through the wilderness, besides many other proofs of divine favour, they receive from their illustrious guide a system of religion and laws, under the sanction of the Deity, and not unworthy of it. The Mosaic code, though the most ancient upon record, contains the soundest maxims of legislative wisdom. It is an admirable summary of our duty to God, and to man; and enforces the observance of that duty by the strongest motives of gratitude, hope, and fear. It directs our adoration to one God, the author of all blessings; it commands us to reverence his holy name; and denounces the most dreadful curse against those who may transfer to idols, or to the creature,

* Lucian.

that worship which is due only to the Creator. In order to prevent these sacred obligations from being forgotten, it ordains a sabbath every week, to be set apart for rest and for pious meditation on the works of the Almighty. It holds out length of days as the reward of filial respect, which strengthens the ties of blood, promotes domestic happiness, and begets an early habit of submission to civil order. Four of its statutes, *Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness*, comprehend in a few words the principles of universal jurisprudence. They have formed the basis of criminal law among all civilized nations; and though sometimes varied in their application by circumstances, yet unaltered in their object, they are as essential to the good order of society as the four elements to the system of nature. They conclude with an admonition against *covetousness*, the main-spring of fraud, violence and rapine; the incentive to the commission of every crime before so strongly prohibited.

But notwithstanding all the essential precepts of piety and virtue were included in the ten commandments, Moses found it necessary to enter into minuter details. Sensible of the extreme ignorance and perverseness of the nation under his care, he omitted nothing which he thought might tend to inform their minds, to regulate their conduct, to correct their vicious propensities, and to promote their welfare and security. He even laid down rules for their diet, for the preservation of their health, and for the treatment and cure of such diseases as they were most liable to. After having led them through many difficulties and dangers, within view of the promised land, he began to feel his approaching dissolution. It was the fondest wish of his heart to complete his arduous task, and to go over with his people into the goodly possessions, designed for them beyond Jordan. But he cheerfully submitted to the divine will. He called all Israel together to receive his last instructions and his blessing. He had before secured their concurrence in the appointment of a successor. He had also taken care to have fair copies of his laws made out, and committed to the proper guardians of them. He now made the whole assembly renew the solemn covenant between them and their God; and in the plainest and most forcible manner pointed out to them the certain rewards of their obedience, and the assured punishment of their apostacy. Having then given his prophetic blessing to the several tribes, he went up to Mount Nebo, whence he had a view of the land which had been promised to the posterity of Abraham.

There

There he died, and *was gathered unto his people*, in the year before Christ 1451.

The history of the Jews is continued by other sacred writers through a long period of above a thousand years from the death of Moses. The plan he laid down for the conquest of Palestine was executed by Joshua.

The heads of the Syrian kingdoms, principalities, or townships, having chosen no common leader, nor digested any regular plan of defence, though they knew the Hebrews had been long hovering on their frontier, several of those petty kingdoms, on both sides Jordan, were subdued, and the inhabitants put to the sword, before any league was formed for opposing the cruel invaders. At last, however, threatened with utter extirpation, a general alliance was concerted among the remaining kings between Jordan and the sea; but Joshua, by forced marches, falling twice unexpectedly upon the combined army, routed it with great slaughter. Most of the inhabitants, except those who resided in impregnable cities along the coast, were put to the sword, or compelled to fly. Their possessions were divided among the tribes of Israel; and thus the victorious Hebrews settled in the southern part of Syria, still known by the name of Palestine.

But they did not continue long attentive to the institutions of their great law-giver. They fell into apostacy and confusion. They were alternately torn by intestine wars, or reduced to temporary bondage by the people whom they had before conquered. When relieved from a foreign yoke, they commonly became subject to the more grievous oppressions of domestic tyranny. But in the various changes of their manners and fortune, it is remarkable that some of their grossest idolatries, as well as their severest afflictions, took place, when the civil power and the authority of the priesthood were united in the same person.

Moses, who must have seen when in Egypt, the abuses which arose from trusting the priests with too much power, very wisely separated the sacerdotal from the civil jurisdiction. The ministers of religion were not allowed to interfere in secular concerns; their duties were confined to the worship of God; and their authority extended no farther than to take cognizance of such offences or trespasses as were connected with that worship*. The care and direction of all other matters were committed to the elders of the people. These administered justice under the controul of a supreme ruler; em-

* Universal History.

phatically called a judge, in whom all power, civil and military, was vested; and who was to be obeyed as the vicegerent of God himself. How the high priest came to invade the latter prerogative is not recorded in scripture; and though the gradual encroachment may be easily accounted for, we chuse rather to imitate the silence of holy writ on that subject, and to attend only to the detail of facts.

When the government of the Jews had continued in the form prescribed by Moses, under twelve successive judges, Eli, the high-priest, united in himself those functions and powers, which before had been kept distinct. He does not appear, however, to have been properly qualified for either office. We find him as incapable of leading armies into the field, as of restraining his people from idolatry at home. His own two sons availing themselves of his weakness, set the example of profligacy to the whole nation. They are characterized in the first book of Samuel as the sons of Belial, who knew not God; who behaved so scandalously, during the sacrifice, as to make men abhor the offering of the Lord. The fond father, though informed of their abominations, still continued them in authority under him. He told them, indeed, that it was no good report he had heard of them, in making the people to transgress; but such sort of reproof was not likely to check those young reprobates in the career of dissipation. The nation was involved in their guilt and their punishment. Under Eli, who judged Israel forty years, the Jews lost their courage, as well as all religion and virtue; and were kept in subjection by the Philistines. They made some feeble attempts to recover their liberty, but were always defeated. At one time having brought the ark of the covenant into the camp, as if that was to insure success to a debauched, cowardly, and idolatrous army, they were routed with great slaughter. The two sons of Eli were among the slain; and the ark was carried off by the victorious enemy. The news of this disaster put an end to the old man's life, and his ill-exercised authority.

After so terrible an overthrow, in which the Jews lost thirty thousand footmen, they remained for some years at the mercy of the Philistines, till Samuel rose, their prophet and their judge, who brought back the people to a sense of their duty, and soon restored the departed glory of Israel. Their enemies were discomfited in their turn; and the people having recovered the cities and coast which had been taken from them in former wars, began to enjoy the comforts of peace. To secure the continuance of those blessings, Samuel was unwearied in the administration of justice. He took circuits

cuits from year to year in different parts of the country, to judge the people, and to redress their grievances. When age rendered him unequal to the discharge of such laborious duties, he made his two sons judges over Israel. But they did not walk in his ways; they *turned aside after lucre*; they took *bribes* and *perverted judgment*. The elders of the nation therefore came to Samuel; remonstrated with him on the degeneracy of his sons; and insisted upon having a *king* to judge them, to go before them, and to *fight their battles*. He solemnly protested against the measure. He warned them of all the oppressive consequences of a kingly government, but to no purpose; and was at length obliged to comply with their importunities.

The advancement of Saul to the regal dignity was the second change made in the constitution as established by Moses. According to his plan, the commonwealth was supposed to be a *Theocracy*; that is, to be placed under the immediate command and direction of God; the people acknowledged no other king: they paid respect to the priests as the superintendants of his worship; and they yielded obedience to the judges, as the interpreters of his laws, and the delegates of his power. The succession to the priesthood was fixed, being made hereditary in a particular family; but the office of ruler, or judge, being seemingly left to God's appointment, and neither determinable by the choice of the people, nor by lineal descent, left a door open to ambition, violence, and intrigue. Moses prevented any disturbance by naming and consecrating a successor in his own lifetime.

After the death of Joshua, intestine divisions, or rather a spirit of lust and rapine, threw the nation into a state of anarchy. As this exposed them to the inroads of their hostile neighbours, military merit and success were regarded as sure marks of the divine approbation; and conferred upon any person so distinguished, the title and authority of judge. Gideon was one of those who obtained many signal victories over the Philistines, and loaded his followers with their spoils. The Jews, out of gratitude, offered to make him and his posterity rulers over them. His reply was, "The Lord shall rule over you." But though he declined the name, he retained the power; and procured for himself the most valuable part of the spoils. His natural son waded to the inheritance through a torrent of blood*. We are not told

* Judges, ch. ix.

how the two next judges obtained that dignity. After them the supreme authority was committed to another of Gilead's illegitimate issue, on account of his valour. Thus this high and important office continued to fluctuate, till it was annexed to the high priesthood, in the person of Eli, as before observed. The wickedness and death of his sons cut off the succession in that line. Samuel, to whom it was next transferred, had not a more hopeful progeny; and the people finding no permanent advantages to arise from the administration of either judges, priests, or prophets, resolved to be like other nations, and to have a king.

This last innovation, which was the result of levity and impatience, rather than of deliberate reasoning, did not remedy the evils before experienced. It neither gave stability to the new government nor effected any reform of the old. Saul having incurred Samuel's displeasure, was involved in foreign or domestic troubles, during his whole reign. At his death, the kingdom was divided by two claimants to his throne. Ish-bosheth, his son, founded his pretensions on the right of blood, and was seconded by many of the tribes. David a popular young warrior, who had risen by his merit, had been anointed by the late prophet; and therefore his title, as of divine appointment, was acknowledged by the house of Judah. A civil war ensued, which lasted seven years and a half, and was terminated by the assassination of Ish-bosheth. All Israel now submitted to David, and the sceptre became hereditary in his family, though the right of succession was still unsettled, and transferable from one branch to another at the will of the reigning monarch. Of this, Solomon's accession to the throne, in preference to his elder brother, afforded an immediate instance.

The first specimens which the Jews had of kingly government, would have afforded them no reason to applaud the wisdom of their choice, if David's policy, and success in war, and Solomon's encouragement of the arts of peace, had not made them some amends for their other sufferings. Under those sovereigns, the people rose to a very high pitch of wealth and power. David enlarged the bounds of Palestine, took Jerusalem, which he made the capital of his dominions; and rendered many Syrian princes tributary. Solomon's pacific reign afforded him full leisure to exert his wisdom in civilizing his subjects, in giving them a relish for the sweets of industry, and opening a new sphere for their activity in the various pursuits of trade.

But

But with Solomon the grandeur and tranquillity of the Jews expired. The seeds of revolt were sown towards the close of his reign, by a fatal reverse of his own conduct; and his son's avowed tyranny, which excited the just indignation of many, and encouraged the ambition of a few, rent asunder once more the ill-fated tribes of Israel and Judah. Their history from the time of this division, which happened in the year 975 before the Christian æra, till Jerusalem was burnt to the ground, almost four hundred years after, is little more than one continued record of all the horrors of cruelty and oppression; of all the calamities that could be inflicted by tyrants at home, or merciless invaders from abroad, on a cowardly, yet turbulent nation, immersed in ignorance, wickedness, and idolatry. Their annals during this long period, if we except a few intervals, may be truly called the annals of disunion, indolence, and vice; and of their inseparable curses, servitude, massacres, famine and disease.

The sad catastrophe of what was called the kingdom of Israel, as separate from that of Judah, is described by the prophets in very pathetic terms. Their lands were laid waste. Their infants were dashed against the ground, and the wombs of their pregnant women ript up with the most horrid barbarity. The men, in their terror, cried to the mountains to cover them, and to the hills to fall upon them. Those who had not perished by the sword, nor escaped by flight, were dragged away into bondage; and their country was divided among colonies of the conquerors.

Jerusalem the capital of the other partition of the kingdom, under the house of Judah, remained above a hundred years longer, only to be the scene of repeated butcheries, and of still more dreadful desolation. It is not easy to say from which it suffered most, its own princes or foreign enemies. Manasseh filled it from one end to the other with innocent blood, and in the equally cruel and wicked reign of Jehoiakim, one of his grand children, it felt the first stroke of Nebuchadnezzar's power. This mighty conqueror, the progress of whose arms a dastardly people were unable to resist, made himself master of their city with little difficulty; stripped it of all that their fathers had laid up in store; and carried away the young princes to be eunuchs in his palace. Jehoiakim was also bound in fetters, and designed to be sent to Babylon with the rest; but was afterwards permitted to remain at Jerusalem, as Nebuchadnezzar's servant or viceroy. In this state of subjection he continued three years,

when attempting to throw off the yoke, he fell a sacrifice to the Assyrian monarch's resentment. An army was sent into Judea, who wasted the whole country; led three thousand and twenty-three of the inhabitants captive; and having put Jehoiakim to death, they gave him, to use the expression of the prophet, the burial of an ass, that is to say, they left his dead body exposed to the heat in the day time, and to the frost in the night *.

The son and successor of Jehoiakim, was not terrified by his father's fate, from treading in the same steps. The particulars of his wickedness are not described by the sacred historians; it is only said, that he did what was evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his father had done. Having given some offence to Nebuchadnezzar, that formidable enemy marched in person a second time against Jerusalem; and regardless of the young king's submissions, he ransacked the temple, the palace, and the city. He carried off not only the treasures, but the greatest part of the inhabitants; all the craftsmen and smiths; all that were strong and fit for war; every body famed for skill, might, valour, or wisdom, besides the king, his mother, his wives, and his whole court. In short, none were left behind but the most wretched and worthless, over whom the captive king's uncle, Zedekiah, was appointed governor. An unsuccessful confederacy against the Assyrian tyrant, into which he entered with some of the neighbouring princes a few years after, hastened his ruin, and the total destruction of his city. It was besieged a third time; and Zedekiah, in an unfortunate attempt to make his escape by night, with his family and guards, fell into the hands of the enemy. His children were butchered in his presence, and his own eyes were then put out, that no object, says an ingenious annotator, obliterate the idea of that bloody scene. The city being taken and pillaged, all its buildings were burnt to the ground; the walls and fortifications were demolished; and all the surviving Jews, except some vine-dressers and husbandmen, were transported to Babylon, to be there employed in hard labour with the rest of their captive brethren, in the year before Christ, 588.

The galling yoke of bondage seems to have brought the Jews to a sense of their duty, and of their past violations of it. Unable to resist the strong arm of man, they placed their sole confidence in God. Neither promises nor threats could make them abandon his worship, or bow the knee to

* Jeremiah, ch. xxii.

Idols. Three score and ten years they remained in captivity. At length the great Cyrus, having conquered Babylon, set them at liberty, and issued a decree, by which they were permitted to return to their own country, and to rebuild their city and temple. He also gave them all the sacred utensils, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought away from Jerusalem; and ordered that the expences of erecting the house of God, according to the plan he laid down, should be paid out of the royal treasury. Such of the Jews as preferred staying in their present places of residence, were allowed to do so, and to make what contributions they pleased to the holy edifice. Great numbers remained at Babylon; but those who returned to Jerusalem, set about the work with alacrity and vigour. Its progress received a temporary check through the intrigues of their enemies, and the caprice of Cyrus's immediate successors; but in the beginning of the reign of Darius, the former decree in favour of the Jews was ratified; and many new clauses were added for their effectual assistance and security. A particular charge was given to the governors of Syria and Samaria, not only to prevent any farther obstruction of the works, but to furnish supplies out of the tribute of those provinces, for carrying it on with greater dispatch. It was farther declared, that if any one should presume to act contrary to these instructions, his house should be pulled down, and he himself hanged on a gallows, made of the timber. In three years after the date of this decree the temple was finished.

Darius continued to manifest his kindness for the Jews during the remainder of his long reign. Their privileges were confirmed to them by his son Xerxes; and they rose to still higher favour under Artaxerxes, the Ahasuerus of Scripture, through the influence of his queen Esther, a Jewess, and through the services of her uncle Mordecai, who had discovered a plot against the king's life. It was from this king that Ezra obtained very liberal donations, to be applied to the service of the temple; and full powers to govern the Jews as the wisdom of God should direct him. The like commission was also granted to Nehemiah, who rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, and reformed many abuses both in church and state. After these two, we hear no more of any governors of Judea. The country was probably made subject to the governor of Syria, from whom the high priests might immediately derive their authority. In this state were the Jews, about 409 years before the Christian æra.

From this time we may ascribe the greatest part of those misfortunes that befel their nation, to a set of men who aspired.

pired to the sacerdotal dignity, more through ambition and avarice, than any zeal for their religion.

Josephus gives us a signal instance of this truth. About the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Mnemon, Johanan succeeded his father Joiada in the priesthood. Bagofes, governor of Syria and Phœnicia, having contracted an intimate friendship with Jeshua, the brother of Johanan, had promised him a grant of the priesthood a few years after Johanan's investiture. Jeshua coming to Jerusalem, had an interview with his brother in the inner-court of the temple, and acquainting him with the intention of the governor, the dispute arose to such a height betwixt them, that Jeshua was killed by his brother. Bagofes immediately repairing to the place, upbraided the Jews, in the severest terms, for making shambles of the temple of their God. He then offered to enter into the holy place, but being opposed by the priests, he asked them in an angry tone, whether they thought his living body more impure than the dead carcase which lay there? and without waiting for an answer, forcibly entered. Being fully informed of the fact, he imposed a heavy fine upon the temple, which continued for seven years, till the death of Artaxerxes.

In the fourth year of the reign of Darius Codomannus, Alexander the Great intending to besiege Tyre, sent to Jaddua the high priest, demanding that supply of provisions from the Jews, which they were wont to pay to the Persians. Jaddua modestly excused himself from complying with his demands, alledging, that his oath of fidelity to Darius did not permit him to transfer that tribute to an enemy. Alexander, provoked at this refusal, had no sooner completed the reduction of Tyre, than he marched immediately to Jerusalem with the intention of punishing the Jews, who, in the mean time, implored the protection of God, and by their prayers, sacrifices, and other acts of humiliation, obtained a gracious promise from him, that he would protect his temple and people from approaching calamity. Jaddua was directed in a dream to go and meet the threatening conqueror in his pontifical robes, at the head of all his priests in their proper habits; and attended with the rest of the people dressed in white garments. He accordingly obeyed next morning; and Alexander no sooner approached him, than he was seized with such an awful respect, that he advanced towards him and embraced him with a religious kind of veneration, to the great surprise of all that attended him. Parmenio, with his usual freedom, venturing to ask the king the reason of this unexpected behaviour, was answered, that he paid this respect not

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to the priest, but to his God; for when he was filled with anxiety about the event of his Asiatic expedition, that very person, in that very habit, appeared to him in a dream at Dium in Macedonia, and encouraged him to pass boldly over into Asia, promising that God would give him the empire of the Persians. He then gave orders to march on to Jerusalem, and was attended thither by the high priest and his retinue, and conducted to the temple, where he caused a great number of victims to be offered to the God of the Jews. Upon his departure, he granted the Jews the freedom of their country, laws, and religion, and exempted them every seventh year from paying any tribute.

With Alexander died the prosperous state of the Jews, their country being successively invaded, and themselves captivated by the Syrians and Egyptians. In Ptolemy Philadelphus, however, they found a protector. As he was a great lover of learning, and was forming a noble library at Alexandria, he endeavoured to oblige them as much as possible, in order to obtain from them a copy of the sacred books to be translated into Greek, and deposited among the immense number of volumes, which he had procured from all parts of the world.

A learned prelate * supposes this version, which is commonly known by the name of the *Septuagint*, to have been made in the seventh year of that monarch's reign. The name of the *Septuagint* was given to it, because, according to the Jews, there were seventy-two persons concerned in the translation, and that the versions made by each of them separate apartments, miraculously agreed without the difference of a single word. This story, however, with several other fabulous circumstances mentioned by ancient writers, is sufficiently confuted by modern critics.

* Archbishop Usher.

C H A P. VIII.

*Of the Phœnicians—Their Religion.—Arts.—Sciences.—
Manufactures.—Language—and Commerce,—Of Scythia.—
Its great extent.—Character and Customs of the Scythians,
—Their valour, and mode of raising Soldiers.*

IT is universally agreed, that the ancient Phœnicians were a branch of the Canaanites, who changed their original name to avoid the ignominy of the curse denounced on their progenitor*. They were governed by kings, and their territory included the kingdoms of Sidon, Tyre, Aradus, Berytus, and Byblus. In this they imitated the primitive government of their forefathers, who, like the other Canaanites, were under many petty princes, to whom they allowed the sovereign dignity, reserving to themselves the *natural rights and liberties* of mankind. By their history it appears, that even the kings of Sidon and Tyre, when in their zenith, were far from being uncontrollable.

The Phœnicians were of opinion, that the *beginning of all things* was a dark breathing air, or gale of darksome breath, and turbid chaos, obscure as night. These were infinite, and without end of duration. But when this spirit of breath fell in love with its own principles, and a mixture ensued, that mixture was the *source of all creation* †.

In the infancy of their state, the Phœnicians, as well as the rest of their kindred, doubtless worshipped the true God, whom they called *Baal*, or Lord. By degrees, however, degenerating to the deification and worship of dead men, they became idolaters; and how far they retained a due sense of the true God, in their multifarious idolatry, it is not easy to determine. Amidst their endless polytheism, they could not have a proper notion of the Supreme Being.

In arts, sciences, and manufactures, the Phœnicians greatly excelled. The Sidonians, under which denomination it was usual to comprehend all the Phœnicians, were of a very happy genius. Arithmetic and astronomy either took their rise among them, or were brought by them to great perfection. Those excellent sciences, as well as their letters, were afterwards introduced into Greece. In early ages, they made philosophy their study. A Sidonian, whose name was Moschus, taught the doctrine of atoms before the Trojan war; and Ab-

* Bochart. † Sanchoiathon.

domenus of Tyre challenged Solomon, the wisest of men, by the subtle questions he proposed to him *. In latter ages also, both Tyre and Sidon produced their philosophers. Boethus and Diodatus were natives of Sidon, Antipater and Apollonius of Tyre.

The Phœnician language, which was common to the other Canaanites, was a dialect of the Hebrew.

However eminent they were for their learning and skill in the sciences, it is however probable they excelled much more in the labours of the hand, than in those of the head. The glass of Sidon, the purple of Tyre, and the exceeding fine linen they manufactured, were famous to a proverb. For their extraordinary skill in working of metals, in hewing of timber and stone; in a word, for their perfect knowledge of what was solid, great, and ornamental in architecture, we need only consider the large share they had in erecting and decorating the temple of Jerusalem, under their king Hiram. So remarkable were they for their proficiency in the arts, that whatever was elegant or pleasing, either in apparel, vessels, or toys, was distinguished, by way of eminence, with the epithet of *Sidonian*.

When we consider them as merchants, they may be said to have engrossed, for a long time, all the commerce of the western world. As navigators, they were the boldest and most experienced. With regard to discoveries, for many ages they had no rivals. As planters of colonies, they did so much, that it is surprising how they could furnish such supplies of people, and not wholly depopulate their small territory, which was little more than the slip of ground between mount Libanus and the sea. They were at first, perhaps, furnished with eastern and other commodities by the Syrians, as the productions of their own country would not be considerable. Perceiving, by degrees, how acceptable these commodities would be in foreign parts, they turned all their thoughts to trade and navigation, being prompted by the great number of convenient harbours on their coast, and the excellent materials for ship-building on the neighbouring mountains. At the same time, by applying themselves to manufactures, they quickly extended their commerce, and brought themselves to be considered as the first people of the earth for riches and splendor, if not for power.

By SCYTHIA may be understood all those northern countries of Europe and Asia (now inhabited by the Danes, Norwe-

* Menander.

gians, Swedes, Russians, and Tartars, whose inhabitants overturned and peopled the Roman empire, and continued so late as the thirteenth century to issue forth in large bodies, and naval expeditions, ravaging the more southern and fertile kingdoms of Europe; hence, by Sir William Temple, and other historians, they are termed the *Northern Hive*, the *Mother of Nations*, the *Storehouse of Europe*.

We have no system of the Scythian laws; yet, from the justice, temperance, contempt of riches and luxury, and the simple and primitive way of living which prevailed among them, we may conclude, that they were not numerous. Though innured to labours, fierce in war, and of prodigious strength, yet they could so well regulate their affections, that they made no other use of their victories than to increase their fame. Theft, among them, was reckoned so great a crime, and so severely punished, that they allowed their numerous flocks to wander from place to place, without danger of losing them*. These they esteemed their greatest wealth, living upon milk, and cloathing themselves with their skins. Instead of using houses, they conveyed themselves to different places in covered waggons, which were capacious enough to carry their furniture for bedding, and for the kitchen. Gold, silver, diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones, were as much despised by them, as they were esteemed by other nations. Those virtues, which the Greeks in vain endeavoured to attain by learning and philosophy, were natural to them; so much more effectual and advantageous was the ignorance of vice in the one, than the knowledge of virtue in the other†.

The Scythians are much celebrated by ancient writers for strength, valour, and conduct in war†. Their women were even inspired with their warlike temper; and their youth were wont to drink the blood of the first prisoner they took§, and to present the heads of all the men taken by them in battle to their monarch. The worth and merit of a man rising in proportion to the number of enemies slain by him; they used to preserve the skins of the slain, to tan them, and then hang them to the horses bridles, where they served both for trophies, and napkins to the owner. Their pride, or rather, barbarity, went so far with some of them, that they covered both their quivers and horses, and sometimes decked their own bodies, with the skins of the slain, nay, even turned their skulls into drinking cups||.

* Justin.

† Herodotus.

‡ Thucydides.

§ Herodotus.

|| Strabo.

When the Scythians took the field, they mustered their fighting men, according to Herodotus, by making each man throw the head of an arrow into one common heap; and he gives us the following instance of the largeness of their armies. One of their kings, observing the brazen heads of the arrows thrown together at a muster to form a large heap, caused them to be melted, and cast into the form of a bowl, which, he says, remained in his time, was six inches thick, and contained six hundred amphoras, that is fifty hogheads.

Almost all the Scythians seem to have neglected agriculture. They rather chose to roam where they found the best pasture for their cattle, and contented themselves with the spontaneous productions of the earth*.

Their chief riches and food consisting in their numerous herds, they entrusted the care of them to shepherds, whose rank was below that of the martial men, and who had slaves and captives under them. These moving about from pasture to pasture, with the persons and families that were unfit to go to the wars, chiefly lived upon honey, cheese, and milk, and more especially that of their mares; but their choicest food was the venison they killed.

The Scythians talked little, but in a concise and strong manner, especially about their warlike affairs. When they travelled, they carried with them a certain composition in small pieces, like pills, one of which, upon occasion, would yield sufficient nourishment for several days. They likewise carried some composition for feeding their horses, upon the strength of which they could travel ten or twelve days without eating or drinking†.

C H A P. IX.

Of the early State of Greece, and the Siege of Troy. — Of Grecian Colonization.

EUROPE, though the least extensive, is the most celebrated quarter of the globe. Here man hath attained his chief excellence, and human nature appeared with the most distinguished lustre. The arts which support life,

* Herodotus.

† Pliny.

or adorn society, have been cultivated with the greatest success; and the sciences, whether civil or military, have been carried to the highest perfection. Displaying mankind as a superior species, Europe, both in ancient and in modern times, hath held an ascendant over the other divisions of the world. Law, government, manners, the human genius, and the human character, here present the most varied, as well as brilliant appearance. Thrice, within the records of history, civil society, having advanced from rude beginnings to a high degree of perfection, forms a spectacle the most worthy to fill the historic page, and employ the researches of the philosopher*.

Greece is the most eastern part of Europe, situated between the Ionian and Egean seas, which separate it from Asia. It was anciently divided into several provinces or kingdoms, and the scene of many extraordinary events, which are recorded in history, and especially rendered famous by the writings of the poets.

The Aborigines of Greece, like the first inhabitants of every country, were composed of savage tribes, who wandered in the woods without government or laws. They were clad in the skins of wild beasts; they retreated for shelter to rocks and caverns; lived on wild fruits and raw flesh, and devoured the enemies whom they slew in battle. According to the usual form of human affairs, the life of shepherds succeeded to that of savages. The spontaneous fertility of Greece satisfied its pastoral possessors, who, with their flocks or herds, roved from spot to spot, as its beauties or conveniences invited. While one people, in their incursions for plunder, over-ran another, and the country frequently changed its inhabitants, Attica, exempted from conquest and change, became the residence of settled tribes. The early history of Greece, like the history of all nations at a similar period, is involved in fiction and fable. Nor is this defect to be regretted. A more attainable and more useful study lies before us; to trace the causes, and mark the steps of the progress of the Greeks from rudeness to refinement.

The fabulous and heroic times of Greece constitute what may be called the *Barbarous State* in society; for when man begins to *hoard*, and the idea of permanent possession is introduced, the *savage* state ends, and what is called the *Barbarous* begins. It may not be improper to remark, that what other nations have regarded as the waste and refuse of their annals, the Greeks, by their fine imagination, and the beauty

* Logan.

of their language, have made the poetic story of the world. Independent tribes, without a fixed habitation; a chieftain deriving his power from the sword, yet uncontrouled by inferior chiefs; wealth consisting in flocks and herds; military expeditions for plunder and glory; perpetual incursions and depredations of rival tribes; general disorder of society; giants and demigods, that is oppressors, and those who redeemed the oppressed, compose the uniform history of this period. Tacitus, in his *Treatise* concerning the manners of the Germans, delivers the theory; the Poems of Homer give the most perfect exemplification.

A long period must revolve, before troops of Barbarians become a civilized society. Particular circumstances in Greece threw additional circumstances in the way of refinement.

Under the general name of Greece, was included several states or countries, into which it was divided; namely, Epirus, Peloponnesus, Hellas or Greece properly so called, Thessaly and Macedonia.

Thessaly was the most beautiful and fertile province of Greece, of a large extent, the scene of their most early actions, and was governed by its own princes. Of these princes the most ancient was Deucalion*, son of Prometheus, whom the poets feigned to have first formed a man of the earth and water. In his time, we are told, there was an universal deluge; and, according to the fable, Deucalion, consulting the oracle of Themis, how mankind might be renewed, was answered, by throwing his mother's bones behind his back. Whereupon he, and his wife Pyrrha, threw stones over their shoulders, which became men and women.

Hellen, the son of Deucalion, succeeded him, and, having expelled the Pelasgi, or ancient inhabitants, gave his own name to the country, and the people were called Hellenes†. From his own two sons Doris and Æolus, and his grandson Ion, they were gradually discriminated by the names of Dorians, Æolians and Ionians; the three prime branches of the Grecian nation, whose distinct genius and manners gave rise to the three dialects of the Greek tongue.

The arrival of the famous Egyptian adventurer, Danaus, in the kingdom of Argos, forms an important æra in the traditional part of the history of Greece. This happened in the year before Christ 1510. To Danaus the Greeks were indebted for many improvements. He taught the Argives to construct aqueducts, and supplied their city plentifully with water, from four fountains or reservoirs. He built the cita-

* Strabo.

† Parian Chronicle.

del of Argos, and he raised the kingdom to such a pitch of glory and prosperity, by the introduction of arts and laws among the people who owned his sway, that all the southern Greeks bore for a time the name of Danai *.

The first institutions take their origin from violence and disorder. The depredation and robbery committed in barbarous times naturally lead to leagues and confederacies, for common safety and defence. Such an union among the five nations of Canada gave them an ascendancy over one half of America.

The first bond of union among the Greeks was the *Council of Amphictyons* †, or assembly of the States General of Greece, in the year before Christ 1522. From this æra, we date the commencement of political life in Greece. Roaming tribes, respecting each other's territory, began to settle; and the hostility of neighbouring nations wore away. New kingdoms were formed on all hands. The foundation of Athens, Thebes, Argos, Corinth, and Sicyon, was laid. Acquiring fresh forces from their union, the Grecian States began to act with concert, and to undertake distant expeditions.

The first of these was the expedition of the Argonauts, a real event, though blended with fiction. The *Golden Fleece* of Colchis, we are told, was its declared object; but what we are to understand by that Fleece, whether the fine wool of the flocks of the country, sheep-skins placed in the beds of rivers to collect gold dust, a rich treasure carried to Colchis in a vessel, with the figure of a gilded ram on her prow, or some other metaphorical meaning, is altogether uncertain.

A ship, named Argo, was built on purpose, and more completely equipped than any former Grecian vessel. Jason, the commander, after encountering many dangers and difficulties, passed through the Euxine sea to Colchis. By the assistance of Medea, daughter of Æetes, king of the country, he obtained the treasure, and returned into Greece with Medea, whom he married.

Hercules accompanied Jason in this expedition. In their passage he delivered Hesione, daughter of Laomedon, king of Troy, from a sea monster, to which she had been exposed; and, as a reward for the signal service, the king promised him his daughter in marriage, and a present of horses. In their return from Colchis, Hercules demanded of Laomedon.

* Thucydides.

† Parian Chronicle.

his promise, but being denied, he took the city of Troy, killed Laomedon, and made his own son Priam king of the country.

Priam rebuilt the city of Troy. He also made it more defensible by forts and batteries, and gave it the name of Pergamus. Priam married Hecuba, by whom he had many children. Hecuba, when big with child, dreamed she should be delivered of a firebrand, which should reduce the city to ashes. Priam, to guard against so great mischief, ordered Paris, the new-born infant to be exposed on Ida; but, by his mother's care and management, he was preserved, and brought up among the shepherds. Paris, after some time, went into Greece, and brought away Helen, wife of Menelaus, king of Lacedæmon, the greatest beauty of the age. Upon this, the Grecians resolved on an expedition against the Trojans; and, after a siege of ten years, sacked the city of Troy, and, among the general slaughter, Priam was slain by Pyrrhus at the foot of an altar, after having reigned fifty-two years. He was the last king of Troy. The taking of Troy, 1184 years before Christ, is the most celebrated epoch in Grecian history.

The principal actors in the siege were Hector, Paris, Æneas, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Achilles, Ulysses, and Helen.

Hector was the eldest son of Priam and Hecuba. He married Andromache, daughter of Oetion, king of Thebes. This prince commanded the army of the Trojans against the Greeks. During the siege of Troy, he exerted the greatest bravery; and, by his valour became the terror of his enemies. He was slain by Achilles; and his body, being fastened by the feet to his chariot-wheels, was drawn in triumph, by his order, three times round the walls of Troy.

Paris, the younger son of Priam and Hecuba, was educated on Mount Ida, where Jupiter appointed him to decide the dispute between Juno, Pallas, and Venus, which was the most beautiful. Paris, before whom these goddesses appeared, gave a golden apple to Venus, as a determination in her favour. This decision, in favour of Venus, drew upon him the malice of Juno and Pallas. He married the nymph Ænone on Mount Ida, who foretold him the evils he should one day cause. When the games were celebrated at Troy, he entered the lists, and often carried the victory from Hector his elder brother. At these games, Priam first knew Paris to be his son, and placed him in the rank which of right belonged to him. He went into Greece, and brought from thence Helen, which occasioned the Trojan war, as is before mentioned. Paris, being wounded by Philoctetes, caused him-

self to be carried to CEnone, or Mount Ida, to be cured by her; but she, enraged that he had left her, refused to cure him. Before his death he saw himself the sole cause of his country's ruin.

Æneas was a Trojan prince, said to be son of Anchises and Venus. When the Greeks besieged Troy, he valiantly opposed them! On their taking the city, he placed his father, with his household gods on his back, and leading his son Ascanius by the hand, retreated, with what Trojan troops he could collect, to Alexandria. In the destruction of Troy he lost his wife Creusa, daughter of Priam, and never knew what fate befel her. He afterwards sailed into Epirus, and after many tempests and storms at sea, landed at Carthage, where queen Dido became passionately in love with him; but, notwithstanding all her entreaties, Æneas left Carthage, and went into Sicily. Here his father Anchises died, to whose memory he erected a magnificent monument. At length, after having long been the sport of the winds, he arrived in Italy, and married Lavinia, daughter of king Latinus, and succeeded him in the government. He, with his son Ascanius, founded there a new kingdom, and from him the Romans date their origin. The travels and misfortunes of this prince are the subject of that excellent poem of Virgil, which from his name, is called the *Æneid*.

Agamemnon, king of Argos and Mycene, was a prince of great courage and prudence. He was appointed captain general of the expedition against Troy. After taking that city, he returned home, and was killed by his wife Clytemnestra, and her paramour Ægisthus, with whom she lived in adultery during his absence. Agamemnon reigned fifteen years, and his death was revenged by his son Orestes, who killed both Clytemnestra and Ægisthus.

Menelaus was the brother of Agamemnon, and king of Lacedæmon. He married Helen, whom Paris carried away from Greece, which gave rise to the Trojan war, in which he acquired great fame. This prince recovered his wife, and brought her to Lacedæmon, but he died soon after his return home.

Achilles was another Grecian prince, son of Peleus and Thetis. When an infant, his mother plunged him in the river Styx, whereby he became invulnerable in every part of his body, except the heel by which she held him. In the Trojan war, he soon made it appear that he was the first hero of Greece, and the terror of all their enemies. He was greatly disgusted that Agamemnon forced his captive Briseis
from

from him, and retired to his tent. During his retirement, the Trojans always prevailed. At length Patroclus, his friend, being slain by Hector, he laid aside all private resentment, returned to the battle, and revenged his companion's death; but at last Paris shot him in the heel with an arrow of which wound he died.

Ulysses, king of the island Ithaca, and son of Laertes and Anticlea, was the most wise and politic of all the Grecians that went to the siege of Troy. This prince, by his wisdom and policy, was supposed to contribute more to the taking of that city, than the valour of any commander. After the destruction of Troy, on his return home, he struggled with adverse fortune, and suffered many toils and hardships by sea, before he arrived at Ithaca to his wife Penelope.

Helen, the daughter of Tyndarus and Leda, was the most famed beauty of Greece. She was married to Menelaus king of Sparta, or Lacedæmon. Paris, son of Priam, being sent from Troy to the court of Menelaus on an embassy, was received by him with great kindness and civility. Paris, however, soon fell in love with his wife Helen, and, on his return to Troy, carried her away with him. This ungenerous action raised the resentment of Menelaus, and his brother Agamemnon. They engaged all the princes of Greece to revenge the affront, and make it a national cause. This gave rise to the war between the Greeks and the Trojans, which at last ended in the total destruction of Troy; and Menelaus carried Helen back in triumph to Sparta. She again appears with all the dignity of a queen in the Spartan court; and although she affects the character of a penitent, we discover the wanton through the fine disguise. She declares "that her pleased bosom glowed with secret joy, when Troy was taken by the Greeks; and that she then was conscious of remorse and shame, for the effects of that disastrous flame, kindled by the imperious Queen of Love, which forced her to quit her native realm *". But she lays no blame on Paris. She respected Menelaus as a brave warrior, and a worthy and indulgent husband; but the libertine son of Priam was the man of her heart.

As soon as her husband was dead, Helen retired to the island of Rhodes, where her relation Polyxo, caused her to be put to death, because she had brought ruin to her country, and been the occasion of the loss of an infinite number of heroes.

* Homer's *Odysssey*, lib. iv.

In the expedition against Troy, the separate armies of the several provinces were commanded by their own generals. Agamemnon, being appointed commander in chief of the expedition, assembled the most noted captains at Ægion, a town in Achaia, to concert measures for carrying on the war. They afterwards met, with their respective quotas of men and ships, at Aulis, a sea port in Bæotia. Here they engaged by oath not to return, until they had either recovered Helen, or taken Troy. It is not certain, what these forces of the Greeks amounted to; but the general computation is, that they consisted of more than a thousand ships, and an hundred thousand men.

To relate the minute particulars of this war would be too tedious, and perhaps not well grounded. It is the opinion of a venerable historian *, that the Grecians did not lie before Troy the first nine years, but found employment enough to beat up and down the country, spoiling and plundering all before them, till at last they came to block up the capital city.

The event of this siege was for a long time uncertain, the Trojans not being inferior to the Grecians, either in number, or commanders. The chief of these were Hector, Paris, Deiphobus, and Polydorus, sons of Priam; Æneas, Antenor, and his sons. Most of the Grecian captains were wounded, and their case almost desperate, when Patroclus obtained leave of Achilles, to march to their relief. After a sharp engagement, the Trojans were repulsed. Patroclus, however, being killed by Hector, Achilles, roused at the death of his friend, laid aside all private resentment, and resolved to push on for conquest and revenge. Accordingly, he renewed the fight, and took twelve young men prisoners, whom he reserved to be slain as victims, at the funeral of his friend Patroclus. He then engaged with Hector, whom he defeated, and put to death. "Through and through the neck passed the eager point of the deadly lance. The shades of death involved the hero. His soul, leaving his graceful body, winged its flight to the invisible world †."

When Achilles had spoiled the dead of all his arms, he thus began, standing in the midst of the Argives: "O friends! O leaders of Argos! princes of the nations in arms! now as the gods have subdued this man beneath my deadly spear; this man, more destructive to Greece than all the sons of Troy combined! now let us haste in our arms, let us at once assail the town, that we may learn the state

* Herodorus.

† Hom. Illiad, lib. xxii.

“ of the Trojans, and their present disposition of soul ; whether, now that their hero is slain, they will abandon their lofty city; or whether, though Hector has ceased to live, they will still maintain it*.”

This speech was dictated by sound policy; and if the council it offered had been followed, the Trojan capital, in all probability, would have been instantly taken. But the soul of Achilles was little under the government of political prudence. He soon recollected, that at the ships lay the mangled Patroclus unburied. “ Him I shall never neglect,” said he, “ while life informs with motion my limbs.” He therefore proposed that, instead of attacking Troy, the youths of Achaia singing Pœans should return to their ships. “ Let us drag the slain along, added he: we are covered with mighty renown. We have slain Hector, to whom the Trojans, over all their state, paid their vows, as to a present God.”

He spoke, and formed, in his wrathful soul, a deed unworthy of Hector. “ He bored his sinewy ancles behind, and through them inserted a thong. To the car he bound them aloft. The hero’s head dragged along the ground. Placing the arms in the seat, Achilles ascended his car. He lashed his couriers to speed; not unwilling they flew over the plain. The sand rose in clouds around the dead; his dark brown locks were trailed on the earth. His whole head, so graceful before, was now soiled with dust † !”

His mother tore her “ hoary hair from the roots. She threw afar her splendid veil; loud rose the screaming voice of her grief, when thus she beheld her son. Deeply groaned his father beloved. The whole people raised one cry of woe. A general lamentation was spread over the town. Not greater could their sorrow have been, had Ilion wrapt in flame, sunk down to its base in their sight ‡.”

Achilles could hardly be prevailed upon to return the dead body of Hector for burial. He was almost inexorable. Priam was obliged to ransom it; whilst, at the same time, in the most suppliant manner, he thus expressed himself:

“ Think of thy father, and this face behold,
“ See him in me, as helpless, and as old,
“ Though not so wretched, there he yields to me,
“ The first of men in sovereign misery;
“ Thus forc’d to kneel, thus groveling to embrace
“ The scourge and ruin of my realm and race,

* Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xxii.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

“ Suppliant my children’s murd’rer to implore,
 “ And kiss those hands yet reeking with their gore.*”

The several articles of the ransom are thus enumerated, in the last book of the *Iliad*. “ Twelve beauteous robes, “ the venerable monarch withdrew from his stores; twelve “ single mantles, of ample size; twelve carpets, twelve “ cloaks; as many vests of glossy blue; ten talents of the “ purest gold; two burnished tripods, and four caldrons. “ He produced also a high laboured bowl, which Thrace, “ in solemn embassy, had bestowed on the sovereign of “ Troy. This valuable gift the aged king spared not with- “ in his lofty hall; for much he wished, from his inmost “ soul to redeem his beloved son.”

Achilles, soon after, fell before the walls of Troy, by the hand of Paris; who was also slain by Philoctetes.

Notwithstanding the Trojans had lost, by the death of Hector, their chief support, they placed great confidence in their *Palladium*, or image of Pallas. The oracle had told them, that the city should not be taken, whilst that image remained in it. Diomedes and Ulysses, however, having surprized and killed the keepers of the temple, carried away the image. The city at length, as it is generally related, was taken by the stratagem of a wooden horse, by the treachery of Sinon, son of Sisyphus, a crafty Greek, who, by delusive arts, prevailed on the Trojans to receive into the city the Grecian horse, in whose belly lay concealed a number of Grecians, who in the night opened the gates, let in the Grecian army, and sacked and burnt the city. A judicious historian* observes, on this occasion, “ That to “ consider this horse, in the manner it is described, crammed “ with men in ambush, and those the chief of the army, must “ argue very odd management on both sides, either that the “ Grecians should thus expose themselves, or the Trojans “ admit them into the city.”

By whatever means it was effected, or whatever Troy suffered, the Grecians had no great reason to boast of their conquest. Their loss in the field was great; their army was harassed and broken by the fatigues of a long war; the flower of the nation was cut off in the Trojan plains; and the miserable remains of a numerous army were exposed, on their return, to all the misery of storms and shipwreck. This misfortune was attributed to the impatience of Menelaus, who, having recovered Helen, was immediately for

* Pope’s Homer.

† Stanyan.

putting to sea. Their fleet was dispersed; some were drowned, and others driven upon foreign coasts. Those who reached the Grecian shore, on their arrival at home, found nothing but disappointment and despair. Expelled by new factions, which had sprung up during their absence, the warriors of Troy wandered from place to place in quest of new habitations, and addicted themselves to a predatory life. The Trojans, who survived the destruction of their country, lived in a similar manner. The concurrence of all these events produced a nursery of pirates and robbers, who, for many years, troubled the repose of the seas and of the continent. Society went back to the period of barbarity, the games ceased, and Greece remained in a state of mournful tranquillity.

Agamemnon, soon after his return from Troy, was murdered, as is mentioned above, by Ægisthus and Clytemnestra. Ægisthus usurped the kingdom and reigned seven years. At length, Orestes, son of Agamemnon, who had been banished to Phocis, on his return home, slew them both, and recovered his father's dominions. This prince enjoyed a long reign, with great extent of dominion. He made himself master of Argos, the capital of Peloponnesus, and having married Hermione, the daughter of his uncle Menelaus, king of Lacedæmon, on his death, he added the kingdom of Sparta to his other dominions. Orestes died after a reign of seventy years, and was succeeded by his son Tisamenus; but he was soon expelled by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, who, about eighty years after the destruction of Troy, claimed Argos as their birth-right, as well as Sparta and Messina, in the year before Christ 1104.

This revolution in Peloponnesus was followed by a general commotion. The nations, who were first attacked, threw themselves upon their neighbours. The people, impelled by one another, sought for new establishments. The Trojan war had made them acquainted with Asia Minor, which now offered an asylum to the wandering tribes. The Achæans, expelled from Laconia by the Dorians, first settled in these new abodes, fixed their habitation between Ionia and Mysia, and gave the whole country the name of Æolia, from their ancestor Æolus.

The Ionians, compelled to quit Peloponnesus, took refuge in Attica; but multiplying to such a degree that the country could not maintain them Nileus, the son of Codrus, conducted them to Asia. They settled in a region that was bound-

ed by Caria, and by Lydia, and called the whole country by the name of Ionia.

The third colony, which passed at this period from Greece to Asia, was composed of Dorians, who, dissatisfied with Megara *, which had been allotted to them, established themselves in that part of the Lesser Asia, which, from them, was called Doria.

C H A P. IX.

Of Grecian Colonization.

AS the authority of the Grecian kings, or chieftains, was greater in war than in peace, they fomented the disorders which followed the revolution in Peloponnesus, and took advantage of the turbulence of the times, to arrogate to themselves all the rights of the senate. Having become tyrants, they grew the objects of public hatred. The people began to regard them as the authors of their calamities, and, resolving to be no longer the victims of their ambition, cut the yoke of slavery. The example of Thebes and Athens was soon followed by the other states. Popular governments were every where established. The love of liberty became the prevailing passion of the Greeks: The name of kings and of monarchy grew odious; and sometimes a people rose in arms to break the chains of a neighbouring nation. The emigrations also to foreign countries, made during the period when kingly dominion became odious, established popular governments among the colonies of Greece.

From this period Greece began to assume that form as a whole, and that arrangement in its parts, which it long preserved.

C H A P. X.

Of Athens.

THERE appears originally to have been a very remarkable resemblance between the political situation of the different kingdoms of Greece. They were governed

* The birth-place of Euclid.

each by a king, or rather by a chieftain, who was their leader in time of war, their judge in time of peace, and who presided in the administration of their religious ceremonies. This prince, however, was far from being absolute. In each society there was a number of other leaders, whose influence over their particular clans or tribes, was not less considerable than that of the king over his immediate followers; these captains were often at war with one another and sometimes with their sovereign; such a situation was in all respects extremely unfavourable; each particular state was in miniature what the whole country had been before the time of Amphictyon. They required the hand of another delicate painter to shade the opposite colours and to enable them to produce one powerful effect.

The history of Athens, the capital of Attica, founded by Cecrops, an Egyptian, affords us an example of the manner in which these states that for want of union, were weak and insignificant, became by being cemented together, important and powerful. Theseus king of Attica, about the year before Christ 1234, had acquired a great reputation by his exploits of valour and ability. He saw the inconveniences to which his country, from being divided into twelve districts, was exposed, and he conceived, that by means of the influence which his personal character, united to the royal authority with which he was invested, had universally procured him, he might be able to remove them. For this purpose, he endeavoured to maintain and even to increase his popularity among the peasants and leaders who commanded them. He abolished the courts which had been established in different parts of Attica, and appointed one council-hall common to all the Athenians. Theseus, however, did not trust solely to the force of political regulations. He called to his aid all the power of religious prejudices; by establishing common rites of religion to be performed in Athens, and by inviting thither strangers from all quarters, by the prospect of protection and privileges, he raised this city from an inconceivable village to a powerful metropolis.

The splendour of Athens and of Theseus now totally eclipsed that of the other villages and their particular leaders. All the power of the state was united in one city, and under one sovereign. The petty chieftains, who had formerly occasioned so much confusion, by being divested of all influence and consideration, became humble and submissive; and Attica remained under the peaceable government of a monarch.

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This is a rude sketch of the origin of the first monarchy of which we have a distinct account, and may without much variation, be applied to the other states of Greece. This country, however, was not destined to continue long under the government of kings. A new influence arose which in a short time proved too powerful both for the king and the nobles. Theseus had divided the Athenians into three distinct classes; the nobles, the artisans, and the husbandmen. In order to abridge the exorbitant power of the nobles, he had bestowed many privileges on the two other ranks of persons. This plan of politics was followed by his successors; and the lower ranks of the Athenians, partly from the countenance of their sovereign, and partly from the progress of arts and manufactures, which gave them an opportunity of acquiring property, became considerable and independent; these circumstances were attended with remarkable effect.

The regal authority continued at Athens, without interruption, four hundred and eighty-seven years, until the time of Codrus. This prince reigned twenty-one years, and became famous in history for his singular resolution; for when Attica was invaded by the Heraclidæ, and other neighbouring states, the oracle being consulted, made answer, that "That side should prove victorious, whose king should fall in war." Upon hearing this, Codrus preferring his country's safety before his own life, disguised himself in a shepherd's habit, and went to the enemy's camp, where he began a quarrel, and was slain by a soldier. The Athenians being acquainted with what had befallen their king, sent an herald to demand his body; the enemy were so much surprised at this unexpected event, that they withdrew their forces without hazarding a battle.

The pious patriotism of Codrus, in leaving Attica without a king, furnished the Athenians at once with a pretext for abolishing monarchy, and an occasion of indulging their violent love of liberty, by establishing a commonwealth. Disposed, as they pretended, to give that generous prince a successor in the throne, but unable to find one worthy of such honour, they declared Jupiter alone to be thenceforth sovereign of Athens; they chose, however, Medon the eldest son of Codrus their chief magistrate, under the name of Archon; and declared, that this high office should remain hereditary in his family; but that he and his successors should be accountable to the assembly of the people, for the due administration of public affairs. This revolution in favour
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of liberty, about the year before Christ 1095, was so much the more remarkable, as it happened soon after the Jews became unwilling to remain under the government of the true God, and desired a mortal sovereign, that they might be like unto other nations.

The government of Thebes, another of the Grecian states, much about the same time, assumed the republican form. Near a century before the Trojan war, Cadmus, with a colony from Phœnicia, had founded this city, which from that time had been governed by kings. But the last sovereign being overcome in single combat, by a neighbouring prince, the Thebans abolished the regal power. In abolishing royal authority, however, they lost their political consequence. A long night of obscurity involved Bœotia. It was split into many petty republics, among which a kind of confederacy subsisted, but which were jealous of each other's prosperity, and often hostile to the general interest. 'Till the days of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, a period of seven hundred years, the Thebans performed nothing worthy of the republican spirit. Other cities of Greece, after the example of Thebes and Athens, erected themselves into republics; but the revolutions of Athens and Sparta, two rival states, which, by means of the superiority they acquired, gave the tone to the manners, genius, and politics of the Greeks, deserve our particular attention*. We have seen a tender shoot of liberty spring up in the city of Athens, upon the decease of Codrus, its last sovereign. This shoot gradually improved into a vigorous plant; and it cannot but be pleasant to observe its progress. The Athenians, by abolishing the name of king, did not entirely subvert the regal authority: They established a perpetual magistrate, who, as before observed, under the name of Archon, was invested with almost the same rights which their king had enjoyed. The Athenians, in time, became sensible that the Archonic office was too lively an image of royalty for a free state. After it had continued therefore three hundred and thirty-one years in the family of Codrus, they endeavoured to lessen its dignity, not by abridging its power, but by shortening its duration. The first period assigned for the continuance of the Archonship in the same hands, was three years. But the desire of the Athenians for a more perfect system of freedom than had hitherto been established, increased in proportion to the liberty it enjoyed. They again called out for a fresh reduction of the power of their Archons; and it was at length determined that nine annual magistrates

* Stanyan.

should

should be appointed for this office. These magistrates were not only chosen by the people, but accountable to them for their conduct at the expiration of their office. These alterations were too violent not to be attended with some dangerous consequences. The Athenians, intoxicated with their freedom, broke out into the most unruly and licentious behaviour *. No written laws had been as yet enacted in Athens, and it was hardly possible that the ancient customs of the realm, which were naturally supposed to be in part abolished by the successive changes in the government, should sufficiently restrain the tumultuary spirits of the Athenians, in the first flutter of their independence. This engaged the wiser part of the state, who began to prefer any system of government, to their present anarchy and confusion, to cast their eyes on Draco, a man of austere but virtuous disposition, as the fittest person for composing a system of law, to bridle the furious and unruly manners of their countrymen. Draco undertook the office, but executed it with so much rigour, that, in the words of an ancient historian, "His laws were written in blood and not in ink." Death was the indiscriminate punishment of every offence, and the laws of Draco were found to be a remedy worse than the disease.

Affairs again returned into confusion and disorder, and remained 'till the time of Solon, who died in the year before Christ 549. The gentle manners, disinterested virtue, and wisdom more than human, by which this sage was distinguished, pointed him out as the only character adapted to the most important of all offices, the giving laws to a free people. Solon, though this employment was assigned him, by the unanimous voice of his country, long deliberated whether he should undertake it. At length, however, the motives of public utility overcame all considerations of private ease, safety, and reputation, and determined him to enter an ocean, pregnant with a thousand dangers.

The first step of his legislation was to abolish all the laws of Draco, excepting those relative to murder. The punishment of this crime could not be too great; but to consider other offences equally criminal, was to confound all notions of right and wrong, and to render the law ineffectual by means of its severity.

Solon next proceeded to new model the political law; and his establishments on this head remained among the Athenians, while they preserved their liberties. He seems

* Young.

to have set out upon this principle, that a perfect republic, in which each citizen should have an equal political importance, was a system of government, beautiful indeed in theory, but not reducible to practice. ✓

He divided the citizens therefore into four classes, according to the wealth which they possessed, and the poorest class he rendered altogether incapable of any public office.

They had a voice, however, in the general council of the nation, in which all matters of principal concern were determined in the last resort. But lest this assembly, which was composed of all the citizens, should, in the words of Plutarch, like a ship with two many sails, be exposed to the gusts of folly, tumult, and disorder, he provided for its safety by the two anchors of the senate and Areopagus. The first of these courts consisted of four hundred persons, an hundred out of each tribe of the Athenians, who prepared all important bills that came before the assembly of the people; the second, though but a court of justice, gained a prodigious ascendancy in the republic, by the wisdom and gravity of its members, who were not chosen, but after the strictest scrutiny, and the most serious deliberation.

Such was the system of government established by Solon, which, the nearer we examine it, will afford the more matter for our admiration. When he had completed his code of laws, he ordered them to be repeated every year publicly, that no one might plead ignorance. Notwithstanding this just settlement, the city, not many years after, became divided into factions; and Solon being in Egypt, Pisistratus, descended from Codrus, took advantage of his absence, and working on the humour of the people, seized upon the government. Solon finding it impossible to stop the public torrent, retired into Lydia, and soon after died at Cyprus in the 80th year of his age, and 560 years before Christ.

The Areopagus was the court or senate-house of Athens, first erected by Cecrops, and situated on a hill in the neighbourhood of the city, sacred to Mars. This court was composed of those persons who had borne the office of Archon, and whose conduct had been approved of. It always consisted of men distinguished by the dignity of their persons and the purity of their manners. They sat upon all causes relating to the civil and religious government of the state; the custody of the laws, the direction of the public revenues, and the inspection of the morals of youth were committed to their care; and so great was the character of this court, that Demosthenes relates, that, in his time, they had never passed a judgment that did not satisfy both the plaintiff and
defendant;

defendant; and indeed, the same and authority of the Areopagus was so universal, that even foreign states often referred the decision of their differences to that *sacred and venerable tribunal*, as it was usually called. The number of its members were uncertain, and they held the office of *Areopagite* for life. They had no share in the government; but in times of any public calamity the people fled to them for protection or redress. They usually met three times every month; and what was peculiar to this assembly, they always met in the night, that they might not be interrupted by the business of the day, or be influenced by objects that might move the passions either of pity or resentment*.

The authority of this court continued entire 'till the time of *Pericles*, who, not having borne the office of *Archon*, could not be admitted among them; he, therefore, took every step to lessen their dignity, 'till by degrees, they lost their power, and the public regard. *St. Paul* the apostle, being at *Athens*, was brought before the *Areopagus*, and examined concerning the doctrine he taught, when *seeing the city wholly given to idolatry* and an altar erected *to the unknown God*, he declared to them the God that made the world, and preached of Jesus, and the resurrection, and that God *commanded all men to repent and believe*. From this powerful declaration of *St. Paul*, *Dionysius*, one of the *Areopagites*, became a convert, and a strenuous defender of the christian faith. †

CHAP. XI.

Of Sparta.

ATHERNS and Sparta were the leading commonwealths in Greece. These were the great springs of action; and, by the ascendant which they acquired, directed the motions and formed the spirit of that extraordinary people. The course of their history unfolds the character, genius, and politics of the Greeks.

The Spartan government hath always appeared a paradox in the political world. The division of power; the state of manners; the customs, the laws, and the mode of life are so singular and extraordinary that some authors have doubted the existence, and all expressed their admiration of this poli-

* Universal History.

† Acts, chap. xvii.

tical phenomenon. The constitution of Sparta, however, will appear, like every other constitution, the result of a situation, and the production of the times.

Sparta, or Lacedæmon, had something in it so peculiar, that the great lines of it 'at least ought not to be omitted even in a delineation of this sort. Sparta, like the other states of Greece, was originally divided into a number of petty principalities, of which each was under the jurisdiction of its own immediate chieftain. Lelex is said to be the first king. At length the two brothers Euristhenes and Procles getting possession of this country, became conjunct in the royalty; and, what is extremely singular, their posterity, in the direct line, continued to rule conjunctly for nine hundred years, ending with Cleomenes, 220 years before the Christian æra.

The Spartan government, however, did not take that singular form which renders it so remarkable, until the time of Lycurgus, the celebrated legislator. The change of monarchy to popular government, and the tendency to form colonies, which took place about this period, gave rise to the study of legislation. This fermentation in the human mind opened a new career to ambition and to wisdom. Morals and politics became the study of the noblest spirits; the change of situation induced the people to demand laws; and simple citizens began to exercise an authority, which they owed to their talents and to their virtues.

No legislator, however, enacts the laws, or forms the manners of a people, according to his own mind. The genius of the times is always too strong for the spirit of the law-giver. Men are ever the same; tenacious of their rights, and jealous of their independence. A Lycurgus might appear; but who could create a people?

The plan of policy devised by Lycurgus, agreed with that already described in comprehending a senate and assembly of the people, and in general in all those establishments which are deemed most requisite for the security of political independence. It differed from that of Athens, and indeed from all other governments, in having two kings, whose office was hereditary, though their power was sufficiently circumscribed by proper checks and restraints. But the great characteristic of the Spartan constitution arose from this, that in all laws, Lycurgus had at least as much respect to war as to political liberty. With this view, all sorts of luxury, all arts of elegance or entertainment, every thing, in short, which had the smallest tendency to soften the minds of the

Spartans, were absolutely proscribed. They were forbidden the use of money, they lived at public tables on the coarsest fare, the younger were taught to pay the utmost reverence to the more advanced in years, and all ranks, capable of bearing arms, were daily accustomed to the most painful exercises. To the Spartans alone war was a relaxation rather than a hardship, and they behaved in it with a spirit of which hardly any but a Spartan could even form a conception.

At seven years of age the boys were taken from their parents, and put under public preceptors; no Lacedæmonian being permitted to rear or educate his children, but according to the mode prescribed by law. The preceptors were chosen from among people of the first consideration, and seem to have regarded themselves as fathers of the children of the state. Accordingly their chief object, in educating the Spartan youths, was to mould the passions, sentiments, and ideas of their pupils, to that form which might best assimilate with the constitution of the republic; and so to exercise the powers of both body and mind, as to raise them to the highest possibility of performing every thing useful to the community; to make them bold, vigilant, and skilful warriors, yet obedient soldiers; with a strong sense of honour, stimulated to heroic deeds by the desire of applause and apprehension of shame, but ever ultimately governed by the love of their country, which might be considered as the main spring of their souls*.

The Spartan education and discipline could scarcely be said ever to cease. After twelve years of age the boys, whose former mode of life had been abundantly austere, were permitted to wear only one garment, and that equally in winter as in summer; to sleep on no better beds than reeds, which they themselves must gather: and they were compelled to go bare footed at all seasons. As they approached manhood their discipline was increased in austerity; their stated labours, which left hardly a vacant hour in the day, being augmented, in order to curb the impetuous passions of youth. Nor was there found any remission of those labours, unless during military service. Then many indulgencies were wisely allowed; and to such a degree, that the camp might be regarded as a scene of ease and luxury by the Lacedæmonians, who there took pleasure in adorning their persons, and seemed to give up their hearts to mirth. Before the age of thirty, no

* Xenophon.

man

man was allowed to take part in public affairs at Sparta. For ten years later, it was not reputable for the Lacedæmonians to devote themselves to political or juridical business; and sixty years of persevering virtue were necessary to entitle any candidate to a seat in the senate.

To these civil ordinances Lycurgus added certain maxims, or laws, in the same spirit. He forbade the Spartans to surround their city with walls, lest security should lead them to remit their vigilance in its defence; and he enjoined them not to pursue, after battle, a flying foe, for various reasons, lest their ardour should blind them against latent danger; the utter destruction of their enemies unstringing the nerve of their courage, or the thirst of conquest incite them to covet extensive dominion, which his institutions were not calculated to preserve*. He also forbade them to make war by sea; which, as he had cut the sinews of their commerce in abolishing the use of the precious metals, he knew they could not support; and he desired them to beware of continuing hostilities long against the same people, lest they should teach their adversaries their method of fighting. He made it shameful for them to fly before an enemy, how superior soever in force; so that death or victory, in battle, was the lot of every Lacedæmonian; or a fate worse than death, disgrace! an infamy that excluded them from all civil and military employments†.

In order to enable the Lacedæmonians to maintain, in the field, that high military character, which the tone of their bodies and temper of their minds, as formed by the laws of Lycurgus, were so well fitted to support, their forces were arranged in a masterly manner, and nearly resembling the disposition of the armies of the present times.

The Spartan troops were uniformly clothed in red, by the direction of Lycurgus; in order to prevent the soldiers from perceiving their loss of blood, or the enemy from discovering their wounds. Their arms consisted of large bucklers, pikes or spears of moderate length, and strong short swords with two edges. They advanced to battle with the greatest alacrity, yet most exact regularity, keeping time with their steps to the sound of flutes or fifes; and so perfect was their discipline, that through the hottest engagement, they preserved unbroken that beautiful order with which they began the action, and which enabled them to give a celerity to

* Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus.

† Xenophon.

all their evolutions, and an impulse to their efforts, that filled their enemies at once with admiration and terror.

The minds of the Spartan youth were improved by a constant habit of reasoning, in short and apt sentences, for which they were famous. Thus, in modern times, a laconic sentence, is a sentence, short but expressive.

The Lacedæmonian women had great power over the men. A stranger said to the wife of Leonidas, "You are the only women that govern men."—"Yes", said she, "and we are the only women that are the mothers of men."

Marriage was esteemed honourable in Sparta, and celibacy was despised. Among them, the names old maid and old bachelor were scarcely known. A young man refused to rise up at the approach of an illustrious general, because he never had been married: "You have no children," said he, "who may shew me the same respect, and rise up at my approach."

The Spartans possessed a greatness of soul, rarely to be met with in the nations of modern times. A citizen of that republic being rejected from being one of the council of *three hundred*, said, "I am happy that Sparta hath found 300 citizens better than myself."

One of the Spartan kings being asked, under what government men could live with greatest safety? answered, "under that, where the people are neither rich nor poor; where probity finds friends, and fraud finds none."

C H A P. XII.

Miscellaneous Remarks on the Spartan Government.

WHAT has astonished Historians and Philosophers, the state of manners to which the Spartan Government refers, is more rude and barbarous than what Homer attributes to that nation in a former age. Various and ingenious reasons have been assigned, to account for this appearance. Historical facts explain the origin of this celebrated republic. The army of the Heraclidæ, when they came to recover the dominion of their ancestors, was composed of Dorians from Thessaly, the bravest, but, at the same time, the most barbarous of all the Greek tribes. The Achæans, the ancient inhabitants of Laconia, were compelled to seek new habitations, while

while the barbarians of Thessaly took possession of their country. Of all the nations which are the subject of historical record, these people bore the nearest resemblance to the rude American tribes.

This furnishes the key to the Lacedæmonian Government.

Aristodemus, one of the descendants of Hercules, perished in the war which the Heraclidæ carried on, to regain the kingdom of their ancestors, and left two sons, who being twins, and so exactly similar, that it was difficult to distinguish the one from the other, succeeded jointly to the kingdom of Laconia, which fell by lot to their father. Hence the divided royalty, and the two Kings of Sparta.

The Kings were invested with great authority in war, in the quality of generals. In peace, they were only the two leading men of the senate, and possessed little more power than the chief of a rude tribe.

The legislative authority was in a great measure vested in the senate, which consisted of twenty-eight members chosen at the age of sixty. The natural ascendant of the *Elders*, among a barbarous people, evidently suggested the idea of this institution.

The seeming sovereignty resided in the people, as in their assemblies the election of senators was made, and the last resolutions were taken. They approved or rejected the decree of the senate.

Such was the constitution of Sparta. The kings proposed the business in the public assemblies; the senate deliberated and resolved; the people assented or refused. An American tribe, where a chief presides, where the council of the aged deliberate, and the assembly of their people give their voice, is on the eve of such a constitution.

The Ephori were not created till an hundred-and-twenty years after the death of Lycurgus, to curb the power of the senate.

Valour is the virtue of a people in this state. Accordingly the martial spirit of the Spartans was high and respectable. Abandoning the culture of the land to slaves, Sparta was a *camp* where the citizens exercised the trade of arms, and trained up soldiers for their country.

People in this description, too, are distinguished by the love of their country. Affection to the tribe is strong among savages. A small community resembles a cluster of friends; and, surrounded by common enemies, their attachment to one another has the force of a party spirit. Hence, when the Dorians settled in Laconia, patriotism became their passion.

Private affections were absorbed in the public; and nature itself gave way to Sparta.

The observance of the Laws, which distinguished this people, was not a compliance with the orders of individuals, but a respect for established customs, and a regard for their country. At Sparta the manners governed.

The Dorians, when they followed the standard of the Heraclidæ, as we are informed by the excellent discourse which Isocrates composed for Archidamus, agreed to the following conditions: That the royalty should remain with the descendants of Hercules; but that the lands should be divided among those who drew the sword. Hence the territory of Laconia was given to the Dorians, and parcelled out into thirty-nine thousand shares.

Arts were in their rudest state: hence the simplicity of the Spartans in their equipage, buildings, and furniture; they knew no mechanic tools but the ax and the saw.

The use of letters was not as yet introduced, or become frequent; hence the laws of Lycurgus were not committed to writing.

The manner of life of the Spartan women, the severe education of the young, the reverence for the aged, the aversion to industry and arts, the taciturnity, the Laconic eloquence, we find among the tribes that wander in the woods, and live in the state of nature.

Thus Lycurgus, like every other legislator, formed his system of Government from the state of society, established ancient usages into laws, and gave a direction to the current of the times.

The perpetuity of manners is not the least singular part in the history of this republic. A violence was committed upon nature, which ordains a progress to nations as well as to individuals. The people were arrested in the first stage of improvement. A bold hand was put forth to that spring which is in society, and stopt its motion.

The genius of the Spartans was martial. Their extraordinary valour gained them a name among nations. They were distinguished from the other Greeks at the Olympic games. Neighbouring people applied for generals to this nursery of heroes. They held the balance between contending states, and were at the head of the Grecian affairs for five hundred years. After the institution of Lycurgus had shared the fate of all human things, the Lacedæmonians ran the career of other nations; the warlike spirit, however, still prevailed;

prevailed; and Sparta was the last city in Greece which became a village in the Roman empire.

A free intercourse among the sexes in the rude state of society is attended with no criminal effects. Twenty or thirty families, in an American cabin reside together in unsuspecting and unsuspected innocence. But, in a more advanced period, the forms of modesty are the great guardians of chastity. As the women had acquired an ascendant at Sparta, their corruption, says a celebrated philosopher *, was one of the chief causes of the decline and ruin of that republic.

Sparta was made for perpetuity, not for aggrandizement. While other states extended their power and their dominion, the Spartans could not keep pace with the times. They had no other method, therefore, of preserving their ancient influence, but by depressing their neighbours: hence that inverted ambition which appears in the latter part of their history.

When we contemplate the valour and patriotism of the Lacedæmonians, we view them on their most favourable side. Their austere virtue sometimes degenerated into barbarity. Rigidly severe, their hearts were not softened by the milder virtues. Parents were authorized, by the laws of Sparta, to expose, or to put to death, their weak children; and this unnatural cruelty they often practised: with a view to accustom their children to suffer pain, they scourged them so unmercifully as sometimes to occasion their death.

On the annual celebration of a festival, instituted by Lycurgus in honour of Diana Orthia, all the Spartan boys were whipped, until the blood ran down upon the altar of that cruel goddess. And this flagellation was performed in presence of the magistrates of the city, and under the eye of fathers and mothers; who, instead of compassionating their children, ready to expire from the severity of the lashes, to which they fell martyrs, exhorted them to suffer patiently the discipline inflicted, and without seeming to be conscious of any uneasy sensation †.

The helots, or slaves, who cultivated their lands, were treated by their unfeeling masters, with the most savage cruelty. Never was human nature so degraded, as in the abject condition of this miserable class of men, who might have envied the lot of labouring cattle. As if their dog's-skin cap, and sheep-skin vest, had not been sufficient to remind them of their servile state, they were compelled to submit, once

* Aristotle.

† Cicero.

a-day, to a certain number of stripes, without having deserved them from their imperious masters. They were prohibited every thing liberal or manly, and every thing humiliating, and even debasing, was commanded them. A stately figure, or graceful mien if discovered in any of their young men, was equal to a sentence of death. The ill-fated youth was instantly dispatched, and his master was fined for too much indulgence.

The Helots, in a word, were at once the slaves of the public and of private persons. They were accordingly lent in common; and, to complete their misfortunes, any one might wantonly punish them for the smallest fault, and to any degree, as they had no power of claiming the protection of the laws.

We must not, however, ascribe to the disciplined inhumanity of the Spartans all the cruelties practised upon the wretched Helots. Some of these may be imputed to a radical defect in the political arrangements of Lycurgus, rather than to the austerity of life imposed by his institutions.

If Government has an influence upon manners, so manners have an influence upon Government. The severe laws of Lycurgus, being suited to the austerity of Spartan manners, made them conformable to them. The manners of the Athenians were of a milder cast; having a taste for pleasure, and unstable for want of fixed principles, a bad system of laws could not make them better. Such was the contrast, between those two celebrated republics. Spartan severity often degenerated into cruelty; whilst the Athenians, humane, polite, gentle and ingenious, distinguished themselves by glorious actions, and noble works. The people of Sparta treated the Helots with great barbarity; the citizens of Athens behaved to their slaves with so much humanity, that servants in modern times, cannot be better treated, than they were,

C H A P. XIII.

*Of the Olympic Games, and the Conquest of the Messenians.—
Of the Usurpation of Pisistratus.—Of the battle of Marathon.*

THE Olympic games were of early date. It is said, that they were first instituted by Pelops, at Elis, a city of Peloponnesus, in Greece, about fifty years after the deluge of Deucalion; and that, two centuries after, they were renewed
by

by Hercules, in honour of Jupiter. Others, with greater certainty, give the primary institution, or, at least, the re-establishment of them, to the Heraclidæ, the posterity of Hercules, who had returned into Greece, and were become masters of the most considerable provinces, when they instituted these games in honour of their common progenitor, in the year before Christ 776.

They derived their name from Jupiter Olympius, to whom they were dedicated, or rather from their being celebrated at Olympia, a city in Elis. Whatever might be their first institution, they were considered as the most public festival of Greece, were celebrated every fifth year, and continued for five days; during which time, wrestling, boxing, quoits, racing, and other manly exercises were publicly performed with the greatest solemnity. Victory in these games was attended with extraordinary applause; the victors were crowned with garlands of olive, their names were enrolled in the public records, and their persons held in the highest esteem. And indeed, so great regard was paid to this national festival, that the Greeks began a new period, or calculation of time, from the first Olympiad, which, in a regular succession, continued to the birth of our Saviour; who, according to the general opinion of chronological writers, was born in the fourth year of the 193 Olympiad, and in the year of the world 3984.

About forty years after the establishment of the Olympic games, a war broke out between the Lacedæmonians, or Spartans, and their neighbours, the Messenians. The pretence of quarrel was an affront offered to some young women of Sparta, in a sacrifice of the Messenians. This war continued with equal success for twenty years without any material interruption, till at length the Messenians, were conquered. Ithome, their chief city, was demolished after a siege of five months, and they submitted to the Lacedæmonians upon such terms, as the conquerors pleased to impose. One chief article was, that they should till their ground, and annually send one half of the increase to Sparta. At length, after groaning under the severe treatment of their new masters for near forty years, the Messenians, at the instigation of Aristomedes, a young man of extraordinary courage, attempted to throw off the yoke, and regain their liberty. This second war was carried on with doubtful success for almost eighteen years, when Aristomedes was killed by the Spartans, and the Messenians retired into Sicily. Here they incorporated themselves with the inhabitants, and built a new city, from them named Messene.

In

In the time of Solon, the celebrated Athenian legislator, Athens was divided into three parties. The inhabitants of the mountains, headed by Pisistratus, struggled for *democracy*; those of the plains, who were the most opulent, contended for an *oligarchy**; the third party, who lived on the sea coast, having wealth unequally distributed among them, desired a *mixed government*. From these various claims, and the struggles of each party for their rights, or for power, the institutions of Solon arose.

Pisistratus, who usurped the sovereign authority, during the absence of Solon, ruled the state with great moderation. He was *gentle* in the exercise of that power which he had *usurped*. He confirmed the laws of Solon, and held him in the highest veneration, though he could never prevail on him to return to his country. He adorned Athens with many noble edifices, particularly the temple of the Pythian Apollo. He also laid the foundation of the temple of Jupiter Olympus, and was the first Prince that built a library for public use. The world is indebted also to him for the works of Homer, which he ordered to be collected together, and digested into the order they now appear. But, notwithstanding he was beloved by the people, the power of faction interrupted his Government, and he was frequently obliged to leave his country.

After a reign of seventeen years, from his last establishment in power, he was succeeded by his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, who jointly shared the supreme authority, and governed with great moderation and harmony for about fourteen years.

Hipparchus, as the elder, enjoyed the chief authority. He inherited his father's love of letters. He planted and walled in the academy for the use of the philosophers; kept the poet Simonides always near his person, and sent a galley to bring Anacreon to Athens.

Having *abused* his power, he was slain in a conspiracy by Harmodius and Aristogiton. Hippias, in revenge of his brother's death, from a mild and gentle ruler, became a most cruel and inhuman tyrant; and, about four years after, he was compelled to relinquish the government. The Lacedæmonians made a descent upon Attica, and defeated the tyrant with his host. Hippias resigned the sovereignty and fled. He implored the assistance of Artaphenes, the governor of Sardis. The Satrap, delighted with an opportunity of re-

* A government in the hands of a few rich citizens.

ducing,

ducing, under the power of his master, the city of Athens, which might open the way to the conquest of Greece, persuaded Darius to summon the Athenians to replace him on the throne. The Athenians returned an absolute refusal to his demands. The retreat of Hippias to Asia was the origin of the wars between the Greeks and Persians.

Upon the departure of Hippias the Athenians returned to their ancient constitution, and re-established popular government. The change was beneficial; and, on the dissolution of the tyranny, the Athenians became a great people—they seemed rather inspired than taught. Improved by vicissitude, and sharpened, not benumbed, by the oppression of power, they displayed all the wisdom of counsel on the first emergency, and all the energy of action in their first enterprize. The outset of a republic is always marked with peculiar force and vigour. The mind, liberated from oppression, springs with elasticity and ardour to every object of activity. The people feel their new situation; they grasp from sentiment what afterwards they support by reason. The spirit of patriotism catches and pervades the whole community.

When Hippias took refuge in Asia, Darius, the son of Hytaspes, sat upon the Persian throne. By the persuasion of his governors on the Grecian coast, he issued orders to the Athenians to receive Hippias into their city, and submit to his authority. The Athenians refused with disdain, and wished for an opportunity to express their resentment.

The cities of Ionia had been conquered by Cræsus, and annexed to the kingdom of Lydia, and with Lydia fell into the hands of the Persians. Aristagoras, the governor of Miletus, having incurred the displeasure of his Lord, persuaded the Ionians to revolt; the Athenians joined them; and, having sailed into the lesser Asia, they laid waste the Persian territories, and set fire to Sardis.

Darius, informed of this event, swore a solemn oath, that he would take vengeance on the Greeks, and gave orders to one of his attendants, to repeat daily, in his hearing, "Remember the Athenians."

The Persians soon quelled the revolt of the Ionians; but the great object of Darius was an expedition into Greece. An army of an hundred thousand men was sent against the Athenians; but, though all Greece was interested in the cause, only a thousand Platæans came to their assistance. The Lacedæmonians, though they had marched an hundred and ten miles in three days, were too late for the engagement, and

and could only congratulate the deliverers of their common country on the victory of Marathon.

Before the engagement, all the men that could be mustered, appeared so inadequate to the force of the enemy, that the Athenians found it difficult to determine, whether they ought to meet the Persian army in the field, or rest their safety on the defence of their capital.

That momentous question, which seems to have divided the assembly of the people, as well as the council of state, was ultimately decided by the arguments of Miltiades, one of the ten generals appointed by the republic, to command the levies of the ten tribes, into which the Athenians were divided, and whose zeal for the independency of Greece had been always conspicuous. "Depend not upon your walls," said he, "for freedom or safety. Many are the hardships of siege, and many the accidents to which it is liable. The temptations to treachery are strong, and the slightest neglect of duty may occasion surprize. But should you escape these, other dangers await you. The spirits of men sink, under the pressure of famine; and their courage slackens when they are confined to particular posts; embody therefore, your citizens, boldly lead them forth against the barbarian host; and patriotism and emulation, animating valour, will convince you, that victory does not depend upon numbers*.

The opinion of Miltiades was adopted as the resolution of the state; and he and his colleagues conducted to the heights of Marathon nine thousand free Athenians, and probably an equal number of armed slaves; and fortified their camps with branches of trees, as a security against the enemy's cavalry. There they were joined by the brave and faithful Platæans; the whole composing an army of about twenty thousand men. The Persian army, according to the most moderate computation †, consisted of one hundred thousand infantry, and ten thousand cavalry. The appearance of so great a body of men accustomed to conquer, and whose name had every where spread terror, renewed the apprehensions of the Athenian generals, and made them hesitate in regard to the propriety of giving battle.

As soon as it was determined that they should hazard an immediate action, the Athenians and Platæans intrepidly quitted the heights of Marathon, on which they had been encamped, and fearlessly marched down, under the conduct of

* Cornelius Nepos and Herodotus.

† Dr. Gillies and Mr. Mitford.

a leader, whom they believed destined by heaven to save Greece from Barbarian slavery. Nor did they halt, when they reached the plain, but ran to meet the haughty invaders with the ardour of men, determined to conquer or perish. The body of the Athenian citizens, headed by the Polymarch, occupied the right wing of the army; the Platæans, the left; and the armed slaves, supported by the levies of two Athenian tribes, under Themistocles and Aristides, formed the centre. Miltiades was every where present.

The Persian generals, when they saw the Greeks advancing with such impetuous speed, against a great army disposed in order of battle, considered them as men ignorant of military discipline; and who, in a fit of despair, were rushing upon certain destruction; especially as they had neither cavalry nor archers. But they soon had occasion to discover their mistake. Miltiades, who was acquainted with the arms, and the manner of fighting, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, had desired the Athenians to advance with rapidity; in order to awaken that enthusiasm of valour, which spreading from rank to rank, and growing in its progress, as fire is inflamed by the wind, becomes irresistible; as well as to avoid the missile weapons of the enemy.

The troops under Miltiades, being accustomed, like all the Greeks from their infancy to the use of arms, were expert in every military evolution; and their bodies, toned by gymnastic exercise, had acquired a degree of strength and agility, which made up in force what they wanted in numbers. The battle of Marathon was accordingly fierce and obstinate. The Athenian general, in extending his two wings so as to present a front equal to that of the enemy, had been under the necessity of weakening his centre; which, after a violent struggle, was broken by the enemy's main body, composed chiefly of Persian infantry: But his two wings defeated those of the Persian army; and, judiciously avoiding pursuit, closed upon the victorious main body, which they also defeated, and pursued with great slaughter to the fleet on the coast. Six thousand three hundred of the Barbarians were slain, and seven of their ships were taken. Of the Athenians fell one hundred and ninety-two; among whom were several persons of distinction.

By this defeat of the enemy, the Athenians delivered their country from a foreign yoke; and Hippias being slain, they recovered their liberty, about eighty years after they had been deprived of it by Pisistratus, and in the year before Christ 490. Aristides and Themistocles greatly distinguished themselves

selves on this occasion ; but the chief honour of the day was ascribed to the valour and conduct of Miltiades. The Athenians, transported with joy for so signal a victory, presented the Plataeans with the freedom of their city, erected monuments of honour to the memory of those who fell in battle, and gave Miltiades, Themistocles and Aristides, all possible marks of gratitude and respect.

On this defeat, the Persians fled to their ships with great precipitation. Justin relates in this action a remarkable instance of bravery in Cynægirus, an Athenian soldier, who, after a great slaughter of the enemy in the field of battle, pursued them to their ships, and seizing a galley full of Persians, held it with his right hand till it was chopped off ; he then seized it with his left, and when he had lost that also, he held the ship with his teeth, and, mangled as he was, detained it till he expired. The same author relates, that the Persians lost two hundred thousand men in this battle, and by shipwreck. The news of this great victory was carried to Athens by Eucles, who, covered with wounds, ran into the first house he came to, declared the victory, and expired immediately.

The victory which the Greeks obtained in this celebrated battle, dissipated the terror of the Persian name, taught them to know their own strength, and inspired them with an enthusiasm for war.

C H A P. XIV.

Character of Aristides and Themistocles.

EVENTFUL and alarming times are the period in which great men make their appearance.

The favour of the Athenians, after the death of that illustrious captain, was divided between Aristides and Themistocles ; two younger men, who had distinguished themselves in the field of Marathon, by their valour and conduct, and who both possessed great talents, for civil as well as military affairs. These two candidates, for the lead in the government of Athens, were however persons of very different characters. Aristides was a man of austere manners, inflexible justice, and incorruptible integrity ; studious of deserving, but above courting popularity. Though only a citizen of small fortune, he leaned toward the aristocratical part of the
consti-

constitution; not from any desire of lording it over his fellow citizens, but from a conviction, founded on the most perfect knowledge of the administration of the republic, that the popular assembly was now more than a balance for the senate and the Areopagus, two higher branches of the political system.

Themistocles was a man of less rigid morals, and less sincere patriotism, than Aristides. He was more ambitious of public favour, than zealous for the public good; and, in order to acquire popularity, and procure the employments of the state, he did not scruple to pervert justice, and make use of bribes. But if inferior to his rival in virtue, he was superior in abilities. He was an eloquent orator, an expert general, a consummate politician; and the better to carry his measures in the popular assembly, he affected to foster the democratical spirit of the people. His memory was tenacious, his judgment clear, and his genius penetrating. Hence he surpassed all his contemporaries, if not all mankind, in ready recollection, decision, and foresight; in the faculty of taking advantage of present circumstances, whether as a statesman or a commander, and in conjecturing justly concerning future events. Nor was he less distinguished by his singular acuteness, in discerning the strength or the weakness of arguments on the most intricate subjects, how little soever such debates might have hitherto engaged his attention; and of giving the ascendant to which ever side he inclined, while he seemed only to abet what was incontrovertibly right.

The opposite characters of these two extraordinary men, and their opposite lines in politics, made them divide upon all public questions. The eloquence, the address, and popular arguments of Themistocles generally swayed the assembly of the people. He accordingly obtained the chief command of the naval force of Athens, and was invested with very extensive powers. But the sound understanding, the blameless manners, the benevolent disposition, and unbending probity of Aristides, gave a standard weight to his character, which balanced all the splendid qualities of his rival, in the estimation of the more respectable citizens.

This upright senator had been chosen archon the year after the battle of Marathon; in consequence, as may be conjectured, of his gallant behaviour in the battle, and his approved honesty in the care of the spoil, which he had been appointed to guard. Aristides discharged the office of archon, the highest magistracy in the state, and every other civil employment he had filled, with such wisdom and integrity, that he obtained the surname of *Just*, the most honourable appellation

lation that can be given to any human being, and to which no man seems ever to have been better entitled.

But the reputation of *Aristides* for the godlike virtue of justice proved his misfortune. The people of Athens had such confidence in his solid judgment, and impartial decrees, from his admirable conduct while in office, that they resorted to him for arbitration, in private life; and in such numbers, that the courts of law were overawed by his equitable decisions, and in a manner deserted. The pride of the Athenian magistrates was hurt, and their choler roused, at such preponderating personal influence. And *Themistocles* blew these discontents into a flame, that destroyed the credit of his rival.

After returning from a naval expedition, in the course of which he had humbled the *Corcyreans*, and acquired for the Athenians the undisputed empire of the *Ægean* sea, that successful commander amused his friends and the populace with theatrical entertainments, and other public spectacles. Meanwhile he made it be secretly whispered among them, that *Aristides*, by drawing to his own arbitration, the decision of all causes, had established, though without the assistance of guards, a tyranny over the minds of his fellow citizens. The alarm spread from the capital to the country; and the people, crowding from all quarters to Athens, banished *Aristides* by the *Ostracism* *.

The firm behaviour of *Aristides*, on this trying occasion, was worthy of his virtuous and steady character. When the people were inscribing the names on the shells, which were to determine his exile, an illiterate countryman came to the envied senator, and giving him a shell, desired him to write *Aristides* upon it. Surprized at the request, he asked the fellow, if *Aristides* had ever injured him?—"No," answered he, "nor do I so much as know his person; but it grieves me to hear him every where called *the Just*." *Aristides* coolly wrote his own name upon the shell, and returned it, without making any reply. And when he quitted Athens, in submission to his sentence of exile, he lifted up his hands toward heaven, and patriotically prayed, that the Athenians might never see the day, which should make them remember *Aristides*.

The expulsion of this truly good and great man, left full scope for the ambition, and enterprising spirit of *Themistocles*. And, fortunately for Athens, that ambition was di-

* *Cornelius Nepos* and *Plutarch*.

rected in a line, which, in her then circumstances, was equally consistent with her glory and safety.

C H A P. XV.

The Battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis.—The Retreat of Xerxes.—The Battles of Plataea and Mycale.

THE defeat of the Persians, at the battle of Marathon, gave some years respite to Greece. Darius, however, prepared for a second attempt; but, dying in the midst of his great preparations, he left the prosecution of his design to his son Xerxes. This prince in revenge of his father's disgrace, and prompted by the sons of Hippias, resolved on a new descent upon Greece, contrary to the advice of his uncle Artabanus, who represented to him the power and bravery of the Grecians, and the hazard of his success.

Xerxes, however, fixed in his resolution, employed four years in preparing for this expedition, and drained his dominions, and all other countries that had dependance on him, to raise an army suitable to his undertaking. At the lowest computation, historians make his army to consist of seven hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand horse, with a fleet also of more than forty thousand galleys and five hundred thousand men. In order more readily to effect his passage into Europe, Xerxes laid a bridge across the Hellespont, where it was about a mile over. The bridge being broken down by tempestuous weather, he cut off the heads of the workmen, and ordered the sea to be whipped to command its future subjection. He afterwards effected the passage by a new bridge of boats, joined together by chains, and landed his whole army in seven days and nights.

The Grecians, alarmed at these preparations of the Persians, laid aside all private quarrels between themselves. The Lacedæmonians, in defence of their common liberty, and Leonidas, king of Sparta, with an army of six thousand men, possessed himself of the straits of Thermopylæ, a narrow pass which divided Thessaly from the rest of Greece. After a great slaughter on both sides, Leonidas, with three hundred select Spartans, disputed the passage with twenty thousand of the enemy; till, by the superior number of the Persians, they were overpowered, and fell among vast heaps of the

slaughtered enemy, leaving behind them the example of an intrepidity never known before.

Xerxes, though he had forced this passage, was more inclined to push his fortune by sea. In this enterprize he was also bravely resisted by the Grecians at Artemisium, a sea port in Eubæa; but, notwithstanding the singular resolution and vigour of the Grecians, both by sea and land, Xerxes, three months after his passage into Europe, made himself master of Athens, and laid it in ashes.

These storms, however, were soon blown over; and the Grecians, animated by the wisdom and courage of Themistocles and Aristides, obtained a complete victory over the Persian fleet at Salamis, an island near the coast of Attica. Forty Grecian ships are said to have been sunk, or rendered unfit for service; and two hundred sail of the Barbarian fleet perished in this engagement. The Grecian seamen saved themselves by swimming; but most of the Barbarians, being less skilled in that art, and having no place of refuge, shared the same fate with their ships, being literally buried in the waves.

The confederated Greeks, however, made no distant pursuit. Satisfied with their victory, they employed themselves in collecting the wreck that floated on the coast of Salamis, and in preparing for a new engagement.

The defeat at Salamis occasioned great confusion in the councils of the Persian monarch, as it utterly deranged his measures. After deliberating what course he should pursue, he resolved to return into Asia; and, as a prelude to such a return, he ordered his fleet, during the ensuing night, to quit the coast of Attica, and sail to the Hellespont; lest the Greeks should break down his bridges, and cut off his retreat. This resolution was taken in concert with Mardonius, who had never placed much confidence in the fleet.

The disappointed monarch having conducted the whole body of his forces into Thessaly, Mardonius there selected three hundred thousand of the flower of his army; with the exception of the *Immortal Band*, consisting of ten thousand Persian foot, perpetually kept full, and commanded by Hydarnes, who insisted on accompanying his sovereign with that body of guards.

From Thessaly, where Mardonius proposed to take up his winter quarters, Xerxes prosecuted his march to the Hellespont. There he found his fleet ready to receive him. In his march he was attended by sixty thousand of the troops of Mardonius, under Artabanus, who led them speedily back
toward

toward Thessaly. The king embarked on board the fleet with the remains of his army; his bridges over the Hellespont having been shattered by storm. He was quickly landed at Abydos, to the great joy of his Oriental subjects, to whom his life was peculiarly dear. Little solicitous about the success of his ambitious enterprize, they were chiefly anxious for his personal safety. From Seftos he marched to Sardis; and there kept his court, until the fate of the army under Mardonius was determined, when he returned to Susa.

Such was the spirit of the Greeks, and so well did they know, that "wanting virtue, life is pain and woe; that "wanting liberty even virtue mourns, and looks around for "happiness in vain." But though the Persian war concluded gloriously for the Greeks, it is, in a great measure, to this war that the subsequent misfortunes of the nation are to be attributed. The battles, in which they suffered the loss of so many *brave men*, were not the most destructive; but those, in which they acquired an immensity of *Persian gold*. It was not their enduring so many hardships in the course of the war, but their connexions with the Persians, after the conclusion of it, which subverted the Grecian establishments, and ruined the most virtuous confederacy that ever existed upon earth. The Greeks became haughty after their victories. Delivered from the common enemy, they began to quarrel with one another. Their quarrels were fomented by Persian gold, of which they acquired enough to make them desirous of more. Hence proceeded the famous Peloponnesian war, in which the Athenians and Lacedæmonians acted as principals, and drew after them the other states of Greece.

Mardonius, as above mentioned, having taken up his quarters in Thessaly, and the confines of Macedonia, prepared to prosecute the war with vigour, and entered into Athens, ten months after Xerxes had first taken it. But his numerous army was entirely defeated at the battle of Plataea, in the year before Christ 479. Mardonius himself was killed; and it is related, that of the three hundred and fifty thousand Persians who came into the field, there escaped scarce three thousand, besides forty thousand who fled.

In that part of the battle, where Mardonius, mounted on a white horse, fought at the head of a thousand Persians, all chosen men, the Greeks were vigorously pushed, and many Lacedæmonians sunk in death. And, indeed, while he remained alive, the Spartans could with difficulty keep their ground; but when he fell, valiantly contending for victory,

and the brave troops that guarded his person were broken, all the Persians turned their backs and fled.

Mardonius was the bravest * of all the Persian generals. If he had been properly supported by the other leaders, he would have probably subjected Greece to the Persian dominion. His death, therefore, may be regarded as the greatest event in the annals of liberty.

The flight of the Persians proved a signal to the whole Barbarian army. When they saw the forces of that conquering nation routed, they abandoned the field without striking a blow.

Thus Greece was freed from the invasion of an army, which for two years had over-run their country, and Athens was again restored to her ancient government and renown.

On the same day that the battle of Plataea was fought, the Grecians burnt the Persian fleet in the harbour of Mycale, a promontory of Ionia. Upon this double defeat, Xerxes, finding it impossible to retrieve so great misfortunes, retired farther into the country; and, leading a life of indolence and luxury, was at last murdered by his own soldiers. He was succeeded in the throne of Persia by his son Artaxerxes. It may be here proper to notice what a judicious historian says on this event: "That whatever successful attempts Xerxes, or his successors, made in other parts, the Persians, after this defeat at Mycale, did never act offensively against Greece. And though the Persian kingdom continued many years after, and with the character of the greatest empire of the known world, her greatness consisted rather in riches and extent of territory, than any memorable achievements; and the continuance of it was chiefly owing to those intestine broils among the Grecians, which diverted them from pushing on their conquests in Asia †."

Themistocles was now looked upon as the common deliverer of Greece. He received the highest marks of honour and esteem for his wisdom and valour, in the service of his country. The walls of Athens were rebuilt, and nothing was omitted, either by sea or land, which might not only secure the Athenians from foreign invasion, but also fix their dominion at home. This gave no small umbrage to the Lacedæmonians, who concluded, "That if a city when it lay in ruins, could do such wonders, what might it not aspire to, when it was fortified?"

* Herodotus and Diodorus.

† Stanyan
Aristides

Aristides also, in consideration of his eminent services to the commonwealth, was raised to the dignity of *Archon*.

Cimon, son of Miltiades, a favourite of Aristides, succeeded him in the administration of public affairs, and entirely defeated the whole Persian fleet at the mouth of the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia. He sunk and destroyed upwards of three hundred of the enemy's ships; and before the blood of this engagement was wiped off, Cimon dressed the chief of his men in Persian habits, landed them on the shore, and entirely routed the Persian forces. The great booty he acquired in this expedition, was employed, on his return home, in raising the public buildings of Athens. Thus did Cimon obtain two complete victories, which may be said to surpass those of Salamis and Plataea, being both gained the same day, and by the same men. He afterwards took eighty sail of Phœnicians; who, ignorant of their defeat, were coming up to the assistance of the Persians. Upon this a peace was concluded between the Grecians and Persians, extremely honourable to the former, who now became masters of the greater part of the islands in the *Ægean* sea.

Cimon took a more certain road to popularity, than either Aristides or Themistocles. Instead of despising money like the former, or hoarding it like the latter, unless when expended on some magnificent public spectacle, he paid a prudent attention to wealth, but without discovering any marks of rapacity; and being enriched by the Persian spoils, he revived the ancient spirit of hospitality. He kept a public table, if not for all the Athenians, at least for his partizans; and, being naturally of a social disposition, he drank deep with his guests *. "He got riches," said one of his friends, "to use them; and he used them so, as to be honoured on their account." Though Cimon, however, in his convivial meetings, might sometimes exceed the bounds of temperance, his generous hospitality did not lead him to neglect the service of his country.

* Universal History.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the internal Divisions of Greece, the Peloponnesian War, and the Surrender of Athens to the Lacedæmonians.

THE great success of Cimon, at the river Eurymedon, gave new lustre to his already popular and heroic character. Athens, enriched and adorned with the Persian spoils, prosecuted, under his liberal administration, new schemes of wealth, of glory, and ambition. Commerce, conquest, and colonization, equally occupied her views; and being now unrivalled mistress of the Grecian seas, she rapidly pressed forward in her naval career.

The first object that engaged the avidity of the Athenians, was a territory on the coast of Thrace, containing gold mines. That territory belonged to the island of Thasus; and some dispute having arisen with the Thasians, concerning the trade to those coasts, they withdrew themselves from the maritime league. Cimon seized this occasion of quarrel to assemble the confederate fleet; sailed to the refractory island; defeated the Thasian squadron, and disembarked a strong body of forces. But the Thasians after losing a battle on land, took refuge within their walls, and made an obstinate resistance.

After having sustained a siege for three years, they surrendered. The terms were, "That the Thasians should level their walls; give up their armed ships; pay to the naval confederacy, and to Athens as the head of that confederacy, the whole arrears of their stipulated contribution for the public service: furnish their proportion punctually in future, and quit all pretensions to their territory on the continent, and to the mines."

Intestine divisions, however, again disturbed the quiet of Greece; for whilst the Athenians conquered their common enemy, the envy of their neighbours, especially the Lacedæmonians, increased, many provinces also revolted from the dominion of Athens, and a general battle was fought between the Spartans and the Athenians at Coronea in Bœotia, with great change of fortune on both sides, in the year before Christ 470. At length all parties being tired, peace was again concluded between Athens and Sparta for thirty years, in which the allies on both sides were also included.

Pericles, who was chief in the command of the Athenian army; improved his interest with the people, beautified the city,

city, and exhibited public feasts; he also repaired the temple of Minerva, which had been burnt by the Persians; and Athens became the admiration of strangers, and the envy of her neighbours.

Pericles embraced every political occasion to exalt the power of Athens, and weaken that of Sparta; at the same time that he employed the forces of the state in naval expeditions.

While Athens was flourishing under the administration of Pericles, in all the useful and ornamental arts, a war broke out between the Samians and Milesians concerning Priene. The Milesians having been worsted in the hostile competition, had recourse to the Athenians, to whom they grievously complained against the Samians. In this complaint some private citizens of Samos joined; seemingly dissatisfied with the predominance of the aristocratical party in the government of that city and island. The Athenians, therefore putting to sea with a considerable fleet, landed upon Samos, where they established a democracy; and exacted from the Samians fifty boys, and an equal number of grown men, as hostages.

These hostages the Athenians deposited at Lemnos. And, on the departure of their fleet from Samos, they left a garrison in the capital, to secure the obedience of the island. But a body of Samians, who would not submit to the new form of government, and who had fled to the continent, having gained the confidence of the most powerful citizens of Samos, and the friendship of Pisistratus, the Persian governor of Sardis, passed over by night into their native city. They first directed their efforts against the popular party, and got a majority of them secured through aristocratical influence. They next conveyed away, by stealth, the Samian hostages from Lemnos; then openly revolted, and delivered the Athenian garrison, with its officers, to Pisistratus. Elated with this success, the Samians prepared to renew the war against Miletus; the Byzantines having joined them, in their resistance to the authority of Athens.

The Athenians were no sooner informed of that revolt and its consequences, than they sent against Samos a fleet of sixty gallees. But a division of sixteen sail was detached for other services; some to lie off the coast of Caria, and observe the motions of a Phœnician squadron, and others to steer for Chios and Lesbos, and there give a summons for aid. The remaining forty sail, commanded by Pericles and nine colleagues, gave battle, near the isle of Tragia, to the Samian fleet, consisting of seventy sail, twenty of which had

land forces on board, and gained a signal victory. The Samian fleet was then on its way from Miletus. Twenty sail afterward arrived from Athens, to reinforce the fleet under Pericles, and twenty-five from Chios and Lesbos. Encouraged by this accession of strength, the Athenians and their allies landed on the island of Samos, discomfited the Samians in battle, invested their capital by land, and at the same time blocked it up by sea. But Pericles withdrew sixty sail of the confederate fleet from this service, and steered with all expedition for the coast of Caria, on being informed that a Phœnician fleet was coming to the relief of Samos.

During the absence of the Athenian naval commander, the Samians manned their fleet; quitted the harbour, sunk the ships stationed to guard it, and defeated all those that attempted to oppose them. Having thus victoriously accomplished their purposes, by beating off the confederate fleet, they remained masters of their own haven for fourteen days; during which time they made what importations or exportations they thought fit. But on the return of Pericles their harbour was again blocked up. And he having received fresh supplies from Athens, in forty ships, under Thucydides, Agnon, and Phormio, with twenty sail, under Tlepolemus and Anticles, besides thirty from Chios and Lesbos, the Samians found farther resistance impracticable. They, therefore, having sustained a siege for almost nine months, surrendered on the following terms: "That they should demolish their walls; give hostages; deliver up their fleet; and reimburse, by stated payments, the expence of the war *." The Byzantines also negociated, and were again received under the protection of the Athenian government, on the same terms their obedience had been held, as subject allies, before their revolt.

Pericles greatly valued himself upon the Samian expedition, saying, "He had, in nine months, done as much against the city of Ionia, as Agamemnon did in ten years against Troy." This conquest, indeed, was of the greatest importance to the Athenians, as the Samians, by the increase of their naval power, were near wresting the dominion of the sea out of their hands.

Other commotions happened about this time at Epidamnus, Corcyra, Corinth, and other cities of Greece. These quarrels continued with great acrimony, and gave rise at last to a more general war between the two rival states, Athens and Sparta, in which all Greece became parties. Pericles,

* Thucydides,

it is thought, promoted these troubles, in order to divert the general clamour now raised against him, for having squandered the public money, without giving any account of it. The true cause, however, of the ensuing war, may, with more reason, be ascribed to the jealousy conceived by the Spartans, of the growing power of the Athenians, after the battle at Platæa; for the Athenians, on the repeated victories over the Persians, affected a superiority over their neighbours, and set up for the sovereign umpires of Greece.

This assumption of power in the Athenians gave great offence to the Spartans, and the two states became thoroughly exasperated against each other. As they were both now arrived to their most flourishing period, the dispute was for the empire of Greece, under the pretence of a balance of power, and the protection of their confederates.

The late league being now dissolved, each side used their utmost diligence to strengthen themselves by alliances. The Lacedæmonians secured the states of Peloponnesus, as well as the Megarians, Phocians, Locrians, Boeotians, and other states without the Isthmus. On the side of the Athenians, were the Chians, Lesbians, Platæans, Messenians, and other states of Greece; besides a great part of the Græcians settled in Asia. And so intent were both parties on the prosecution of this war, that they had recourse for assistance to the Persian monarch, against whom they were both so lately united. Thus was all Greece, in a manner, drawn into this quarrel, and became auxiliaries to each party, as the different states were affected, or influenced by their peculiar interests.

The Lacedæmonians, under Archidamus their general, assembled at the isthmus between Peloponnesus and Corinth, an army of 60,000 men, and advanced within seven miles of Athens, before the Athenians had made the necessary preparations to oppose them. Pericles was blamed by the Athenians for not leading them into the field; they charged him with cowardice, for not making a sally on the enemy; but he shut up the city gates, sent out parties of horse to keep the enemy at a distance, and ordered a hundred galleys to infest the coast of Peloponnesus. Upon this Archidamus finding he could not bring the Athenians to battle, and that his provision failed, after ravaging the country, broke up his camp, and returned home. The Athenians, in their turn, made successful descents on the coasts of the enemy; and having drawn over to their side Sitalcs, king of Thrace, and Perdiccas, king of Macedon, were enabled to act offensively
both

both by sea and land: They invaded Megara with their whole force, and laid waste great part of the enemy's country. The following summer Archidamus again invaded Athens with the same force as before; and a plague breaking out in the city at the same time, great numbers of the inhabitants were destroyed. This dreadful misfortune was attributed to Pericles, who detained so great a number of the inhabitants within the city; and he at the same time, failing in an attempt upon Epidaurus, was fined in a large sum, and dismissed from his command.

Pericles, however, by a florid harangue justified his conduct, and made so great an impression on the people, that he was, in a short time after, restored to his command, with a more absolute power than he had before enjoyed; but this new dignity did not long continue; for Pericles died this year of the plague, after having held the administration of the affairs of Greece for forty years in the most flourishing time of the commonwealth.

Notwithstanding the death of Pericles, and the great diminution of the Athenian power by war and pestilence, they continued to face their enemies, and fitted out a large number of ships, to the amount of 250 sail. These they employed in different parts, and in carrying on the siege of Mitylene, a sea port in Lesbos. The inhabitants of Mitylene, not receiving the expected succour from the Spartans, surrendered at discretion to the Athenians. On the other side Plataea, after being ninety years in alliance with Athens, was surrendered to the Spartans, and the conquered, on each side, felt the resentment of the conqueror. Many were executed in cold blood; their lands were laid waste; their women were adjudged to slavery; and their cities reduced to ruin.

In this manner, Athens and Peloponnesus, wasting their natural strength and power, continued the war with different success; and, engaging the lesser states in their quarrel, Greece became the scene of intestine broils. At length both parties, having lost their generals Cleon and Brasidas in a late action at Amphipolis in Thrace, seemed disposed to treat; and a peace was concluded in the tenth year of the war between the two states and their confederates, for fifty years.

This treaty, however, was not well observed, especially on the part of the Lacedæmonians, who but coldly performed the articles of agreement. Besides, the confederates of each party thought themselves not sufficiently regarded, and became in general discontented, and complained that the league
between

between Athens and Sparta, was a combination, only to enslave the other states of Greece.

In this state of affairs, a nephew of Pericles, Alcibiades, son of Clinias, who had a great share in the fight at Artemisium, improved the opportunity to his own advantage, and was declared general of the Athenian forces. He obliged many of the lesser states to acknowledge the sovereignty of Athens. Soon after, on an unsuccessful expedition to Sicily, he was sent for home to take his trial, on a charge of profaning the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, and breaking the images of Mercury. Alcibiades, apprehending the consequences, withdrew himself to Sparta, and offered his service to the Lacedæmonians. The Athenians, at the same time, pronounced judgment of death against him.

Alcibiades soon became suspected by the Lacedæmonians; upon which he retired to Tissaphernes, the Persian king's lieutenant, and, by his address, got himself into his favour. At the same time the ill success of the Athenians, in their design on Sicily, caused great uneasiness in Athens.

The government was abolished, and usurped by *four hundred*. This new establishment of four hundred did not long continue, and the government was again altered and committed to *five thousand*. On these innovations in the state of Athens, and the ill situation of their affairs abroad, Alcibiades was recalled, and received in triumph into Athens. He was now looked upon as the only man capable of restoring his country to its ancient splendor and renown, and was a second time declared general of their forces both by land and sea; but afterwards upon the defeat of the Athenian fleet by the Lacedæmonians, under Lysander, Alcibiades fell again into disgrace; and he, who was lately regarded as their sole protector, was discarded on a suspicion that he had not done his duty.

After this, the Athenians had ill success both by land and sea. Their fleet was again defeated at Mytelene, under Conon; and Athens was surrendered to the Lacedæmonians. Thus a period was put to the war between Athens and Sparta, in the year before Christ 404, after it had continued twenty-seven years with great expence of blood and treasure; and, as Mr. Stanyan observes, "With a strange variety of fortune, and a spirit of resolution and bravery, on both sides, which might have been employed to great advantage against a foreign enemy."

This war between these two most powerful states of Greece, greatly influenced the public affairs of the several provinces;

provinces; the clashing of their different interests diverted their attention from their common security, and brought on those intestine dissensions, which ended in the destruction of that general liberty they had so long gloriously defended.

The fate of Athens being determined by the defeat of their forces, both at land and sea, by Lysander, and the surrender of Athens to the Lacedæmonians, the conquerors preferring the glory and safety of Greece in general, to their own private resentment, would not destroy a city that had stood first in fame among the Grecian states, but contented themselves with making an entire change in the government. They placed the power in thirty persons, commonly called the thirty tyrants of Athens. Lysander after this reduced Samos, and other Grecian cities, to the obedience of the Spartans, and returned in triumph to Sparta, with a great number of Athenian galleys, loaded with money and rich spoils, the fruit of his successful campaigns. Lysander, however, incurred the displeasure of the Spartans for bringing so great a quantity of gold and silver money into the state, contrary to the fundamental laws of their country, by which the use of those metals are prohibited, lest the rigid virtue of the Spartans should abate, and their minds become effeminate and subject to corruption. At the same time a decree was passed to proscribe the use of this money; and it was ordered that no coin should be current except pieces of iron.

The government of the thirty tyrants tended chiefly to make themselves absolute. For this purpose they obtained a guard from Sparta to support their power. They killed Theramenes, one of their colleagues for opposing their tyrannic proceedings; many citizens of the greatest interest, or who, by reason of their wealth or good qualities, were most likely to make head against them, were either killed or banished upon the most frivolous pretences. In this distress, the citizens cast their thoughts on Alcibiades, under whose government they had arrived at great glory; and were not without hopes that they might, by his conduct, recover their liberty. The tyrants also having the same apprehension, used every method to get Alcibiades into their power; and he was delivered to the Spartans, at the request of Lysander, on a treaty made between them and the Persians, and was murdered by setting fire to the house in which he dwelt.

This severity of the tyrants was carried to the greatest excess. Imprisonment and murder were frequent in the city, and every one trembled for himself and his friends; many sought an asylum in other states; and the Lacedæ-

monians

monians inhumanly published an edict to prohibit the cities of Greece from giving them refuge. In this calamitous situation of their affairs, Thrasylbulus, who had been a principal commander in the Peloponnesian war, undertook the cause of his country. He was joined by many citizens who had been banished, or had made themselves voluntary exiles; and it was agreed to exert themselves against this powerful tyranny.

They first seized Phyle, a small fort in Attica; and afterwards Pyræus, the principal sea port of Athens. The *Thirty* collected their whole strength to oppose this progress of the citizens; but success attended the cause of liberty; and the *tyrants* were overcome. Critias and Hippomachus, two of the chiefs, were killed on the spot; and, as the army was fleeing away, Thrasylbulus, called to them, "Not to look upon him as their conqueror, but as their friend. We are not," says he, "enemies, but fellow citizens, nor have we declared war against the city, but against the *tyrants*."

This discourse had its proper effect on the army; and, upon their return to Athens, the government of the *thirty* was abolished, and in their room *ten* were chosen, one out of every tribe, and the administration of public affairs was committed to them; but the same passion for tyranny soon appeared in these new governors, and the change was far from producing any good effect. The *thirty* applied to the Lacedæmonians for aid, and Lyfander was again sent to block up the Pyræus by sea and land.

This intent was, in a great measure, frustrated by Pausanias, a Spartan prince, who followed Lyfander under a pretence to support him; but, having gained an advantage over the Athenians, Pausanias, moved with compassion for the deplorable state of a people and city once so flourishing, or from a jealousy of Lyfander's power, secretly favoured the Athenians, and obtained a peace for them.

This peace was sealed in the blood of the tyrants, who were all put to the sword, and Athens was left in full possession of its liberty. The ancient government was re-established, the exiles were recalled. Thrasylbulus proposed a general amnesty, by which the citizens engaged upon oath to bury all past transactions in oblivion; and, by a religious observance of this salutary ordinance, the public tranquillity was secured, and the whole community united into one body, after it had been the scene of the utmost violence and outrage. An ancient historian observes, "that as many on both sides
" were

"were destroyed in eight months, as in the ten years of the
"Peloponnesian war *."

Greece being now in a state of peace and inactivity, the Spartans, flushed with their late success against Athens, began to quarrel with the Eleans, a leading people of Peloponnesus, on pretence of their aiding the Athenians and other states with whom they were at war. They also raised commotions among their neighbours, that they might lessen their power, and better maintain the title they now assumed of Protectors and Arbitrators of all Greece. They likewise sent a large army under Agesilaus into Asia, in order to support the Grecian cities against the Persian Monarch, whose army was commanded by Tissaphernes. The armies engaged near the river Pactolus, in Lydia, and Agesilaus gained a signal victory over the enemy, forced their camp, and made himself master of a rich booty.

The Persians sensible of the ill will the states of Greece bore against the Spartans, for their late treatment of them, began to incense the Thebans and other cities against them. The Argives, Corinthians, and Athenians joined in this confederacy. Thus whilst Agesilaus was prosecuting the war with advantage in Asia, he was called home to join in the defence of his own kingdom, and gained a second signal victory over the Thebans and their allies, at Coronea, in Bœotia; but this victory was not decisive enough to put an end to hostilities between them, and frequent incursions were made into each other's territories.

C H A P. XVII.

*Of the Thebans.—Of the Achievements of the Grecian States,
from the rise of Thebes to the Battle of Chæronea.*

WHILE the other cities of Greece struggled for power, or contended for glory, the Thebans devoted themselves entirely to their interest. The calamities which the Athenians and Spartans occasioned to one another, in their ambitious struggles for pre-eminence, had, by exhausting the strength of these republics, augmented the relative impor-

* Xenophon.

tance of the surrounding states. Thebes, in particular, had, by sure, but certain steps, arrived at power, and gradually extended her authority over the smaller communities. Athens and Sparta, watchful to check the encroachments of each other, had neglected to prevent the increase of a republic, whose reputation long continued inferior to her real power. When the Spartans, at length, became sensible of their error, they acted with such an imprudent violence as drove the Thebans to despair, and now, having thrown off an odious yoke, they threw it off for ever. At this critical period two illustrious men appeared at the head of their country, to bring this strength into exertion, and gave a direction to the spirit of the people. These were Pelopidas and Epaminondas.

A severe persecution, to which the disciples of Pythagoras had been exposed in Italy, compelled those few who could escape from the barbarity of their enemies to take shelter in Greece. In this native soil of science they found protection and respect, and were employed in instructing youth in the principles of their philosophy. Hence the *Theban Pair*, as these heroes are called, found preceptors who pointed out the path which leads to virtue and to glory.

During the intestine broils of the Grecian states, the Asiatic cities revolted from the Spartans; and indeed Greece seems, at this time to have been entirely convulsed and disordered. The jarring interests and struggles of each state for power, put all in confusion, and they turned the edge of the sword against themselves; faction and corruption, fraud and violence, daily increased among them; and not being able to decide their own quarrels, they fatally called in the assistance of foreign powers; for as each people found themselves distressed, they made application to their old enemies the Persians, who had now found out the means of fomenting their divisions, and supported one state against the other, the better to weaken the whole.

There were not wanting in Greece able men either in the cabinet or field, to oppose this disordered situation of their affairs; but luxury and sloth had made great advances in the behaviour of the people, and public spirit yielded to private interest or prejudice. Lyfander and king Agesilaus were early active in these commotions, and headed the armies of the Spartans. Iphicrates had the command of the Athenian forces, and, although a young man, proved an experienced general. Thrasylbulus lost his life in the service of his country at Rhodes. Pelopidas delivered the Thebans from the power of the Spartans, and restored them to their former liberty.

berly. The Thebans, on their side, fomented the quarrel between Athens and Sparta. At length these two States, perceiving that the Thebans, by repeated success, daily gained ground upon them, laid aside their own resentments, and peace was made between them, wherein it was agreed, *that all the cities should be governed by their own laws.*

Artaxerxes, king of Persia, was at this time engaged in a war with the Egyptians, and applied to the Grecians for assistance. The request of this prince could not be complied with, without first putting an end to their own quarrels. Peace being concluded, twenty thousand Grecians under Iphicrates, were taken into the service of Artaxerxes, and some fruitless attempts were made by the generals Pharnabazus and Iphicrates against Memphis, and other cities of Egypt.

In the mean time Peloponnesus, and other cities of Greece, fell again into tumults and broils amongst themselves. The two states of Athens and Sparta were also engaged in these quarrels, in behalf of their respective allies. The inhabitants of Platæa applied to their old friends the Athenians for their protection against the Thebans, who had demolished their city; and, when the former were disposed for peace, it was rejected by the latter, who made it appear that they would lay hold of the present opportunity to extend their dominions by encroachments on their neighbours.

Upon this Agesilaus declared war against the Thebans, and a battle was fought at Leuctra in Bœotia, when the Spartans were defeated after a most sharp and bloody engagement. This unfortunate event greatly sunk the spirits of the Spartans; and the two states of Athens and Sparta thought it their mutual interest to unite and withstand the growing power of the Thebans. In this manner did each state make head, and act offensively against the other, insomuch that all Greece was in a state of war.

Notwithstanding these several vicissitudes of fortune in different engagements, the power of the Thebans, under the conduct and courage of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, daily increased, both at land and sea, insomuch, that from one of the most inconsiderable states, the Thebans not only disputed the sovereignty of Greece, but gained so great credit and influence in public affairs, that they became moderators in the quarrels of their neighbours. The Arcadians intreated their assistance against the Spartans; the Thessalians also, now greatly oppressed by Alexander the tyrant of Pheræ, applied to them for relief from his tyranny.

Pelopidas

Pelopidas and Epaminondas commanded the armies of Thebes on both these occasions; but unfortunately for the Thebans, both generals lost their lives, the former at the battle of *Gynoscephalæ* against Alexander, and Epaminondas, after gaining a signal victory over the Spartans at *Mantineæ*, died of a wound he received by a javelin in the fight, in the year before Christ 360. And it may be said that the glory of the Theban state began and ended in him; for by his death, all their hopes and blaze of power were blasted.

The death of Epaminondas proved no less fatal to the Athenians than to the Thebans; for they now departed from the virtue of their ancestors. They no longer discovered their former zeal for the public good, nor an application to the affairs of state, but gave themselves over to luxury and idleness, and lavished the public revenues to the basest purposes. Philip king of Macedon, took advantage of this degenerate disposition of the Athenians. The rest of the Grecian states being also drowned in the same inattention to public affairs, that prince raised the Macedonians, from a mean and low condition, to the empire of Greece, and afterwards of all Asia.

The Athenians, and the other cities of Greece, for some time opposed the growing power of the Macedonians, whom they had hitherto deemed a barbarous and obscure people. In this opposition they were principally incited by Demosthenes the famous orator of Athens, who strongly inveighed against Philip, and the supineness and indolence of his countrymen. He charged not only the Athenians, but also the Argives, Thebans, Corinthians, Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, and all the other states of Greece, without exception, with having abandoned their several interests. *Whence comes it, says he, in an oration to the people, that the Greeks formerly panted so strongly after liberty, and now give themselves up to servitude?* This he attributed to that corruption, which had crept into every order of the state, and the dissoluteness of their manners. He advised them to concert such measures as were most proper to save Greece from the impending danger. Philip, however, taking advantage of their indolence and intestine divisions, gained so great power and influence among the different states of Greece, that they applied to him as their common friend and protector. Thus he, who was first called in by the Thebans, as an assistant only in their disputes, so well conducted his affairs, that he was enabled to act as principal, and make head against the united army of the Athenians and Thebans, at the battle of Chæroneæ in Boeotia, where

he defeated the army of the confederates, in the year before Christ 338.

On the day of this engagement, and the destruction of that republican independence, which the internal vices of the Greeks, and the arms and intrigues of Philip, had been gradually undermining for twenty-two years, both armies formed in battle array, before the rising of the sun. The right wing of the Macedonians was headed by Philip, who judged proper to oppose in person the dangerous fury of the Athenians. His son Alexander, only nineteen years of age, but surrounded by experienced officers, commanded the left wing, which faced the Sacred Band of the Thebans. The auxiliaries of either army were posted in the centre. In the beginning of the action, the Athenians charged with impetuosity, and repelled the opposing divisions of the enemy; but the youthful ardour of Alexander obliged the Thebans to retire, the Sacred Band being cut down to a man. The activity of the young prince completed their disorder, and pursued the multitude with his Thessalian cavalry.

Meantime the Athenian generals, too much elated by their first advantage, lost the opportunity to improve it; for, having repelled the entire and right wing of the Macedonians, except the phalanx, which was composed of chosen men, and immediately commanded by the king, they, instead of attempting to break this formidable body, by attacking it in flank, pressed forward against the fugitives, the insolent Lycides exclaiming in vain triumph, "Pursue, my brave countrymen! let us drive the cowards to Macedon." Philip observed this rash folly with contempt, and saying to those around him, "our enemies know not how to conquer," commanded his phalanx, by a rapid evolution, to gain an adjacent eminence, from which they poured down, firm and collected, on the advancing Athenians, whose confidence of success had rendered them totally insensible to danger. But the irresistible shock of the Macedonian spear converted their fury into despair. Above a thousand fell, two thousand were taken prisoners; the rest escaped by a precipitate and shameful flight. Of the Thebans more were killed than taken. Few of the confederates perished, as they had little share in the action, and as Philip, perceiving his victory to be complete, gave orders to spare the vanquished, with a clemency unusual in that age, and not less honourable to his understanding than his heart; since his humanity thus subdued the minds, and gained the affections, of his conquered enemies.

Accord-

According to the Grecian custom, the battle was followed by an entertainment, at which the king, presiding in person, received the congratulation of his friends, and the humble supplications of the Athenian deputies, who craved the bodies of their slain. Their request, which served as an acknowledgement to their defeat, was readily granted; but before they availed themselves of the permission to carry off their dead, Philip, who with his natural intemperance had protracted the entertainment till morning, issued forth with his licentious companions to visit the field of battle. Their heads were crowned with festive garlands. Their minds were intoxicated with the insolence of wine and victory. The sight of the slaughtered Thebans, however, which first presented itself to their eyes, and particularly the Sacred Band of friends, who lay covered with honourable wounds, on the spot where they had been drawn up to fight, brought back these insolent spectators to the sentiments of reason and humanity. Philip beheld the awful scene with a mixture of admiration and pity.

C H A P. XVIII.

On the Rise of the Macedonian Empire, and the Causes of the Decline of the Grecian States. Death and Character of Philip.

THE visible decline of Athens and Sparta had suggested views of ambition, and plans of conquest to several of the Greek states. Thebes had the ascendant for a while; but her period, though brilliant, was short. Jason, and Alexander of Pheræ, pursued the same schemes of aggrandisement without success. Philip of Macedon, a companion of Epaminondas, and a witness to the growing power of Thebes, as well as to the glory of her hero, entered deeply into the same views. He joined profound policy to vast ambition, and laid the foundation of an empire, which, extending from Europe to Asia, gave a new form both to the Eastern and Western world.

The divided interests and declining state of the Grecian republics favoured the rise of a new power. The Persian Emperor, who had been accustomed for some time to hold the balance between the states of Greece, was now entirely

occupied with the affairs of Egypt. These circumstances prepared the way for the greatness of Philip, and the Macedonian empire.

At this period, the Athenian character can hardly be recognized, at Athens. Effeminacy and voluptuousness subdued the love of liberty. Magistracies and public employments became the reward of intrigues and bribery. The virtuous citizen withdrew from the scene of corruption, and took to a country life.

The private life of the Athenians corresponded to their public character. The youth were early initiated into a life of dissipation and debauchery; and entered into what is called *the world*, totally ignorant, and greatly corrupted. Their idleness and prodigality plunged them into the ruinous vice of gaming. The gratification of the palate became the serious study, and exercised the genius of the Athenians. They had lately bestowed the freedom of their city (an honour, in former times, seldom conferred on kings and princes) on two men, whose sole merit was, that their father had been eminent in the art of cookery, and was famous for having invented new sauces.

Sparta had received a deadly wound by the successes of Epaminondas. Not only had her citizens decreased in number; their ancient virtue was gone. Lyfander had brought home the gold of the east; Antalcidas, their ambassador to Persia, on the late peace, had, in a mimic dance, ridiculed the heroism of Leonidas. Must all nations, on the eve of their downfall, resemble one another?

At this favourable juncture, Philip of Macedon appeared, to erect a new empire on the ruin of the Grecian republics. The battle of Chæronca decided the cause of liberty, and of Greece.

Improving his success, Philip caused himself to be proclaimed commander in chief of all the Grecian forces; and, rousing their ancient hatred against the Persians, prepared for an expedition into Asia. But, while he was solemnizing the marriage of his daughter Olympias, to Alexander king of Epirus, a dagger was plunged into his bosom.

Amidst the tumultuous amusements of the festivity, Philip often appeared in public with unguarded confidence in the fidelity and attachment of all his subjects. But proceeding one day from the palace to the theatre, he was stabbed to the heart by Pausanius, a Macedonian. Whether the assassin was stimu-

lated merely by private resentment, or prompted by the ill-appeared rage of Olympias, or instigated to commit this atrocity by the Persian satraps, is uncertain. The last conjecture is, perhaps, the most probable; because Alexander alledged the assassination of his father among his reasons for invading the Persian empire *.

Thus fell Philip of Macedon, in the forty-seventh year of his age and twenty-fourth of his reign; the first prince whose life and actions history hath described with such regular accuracy, and circumstantial fulness, as render his administration a matter of instruction to succeeding ages. With a reach of foresight and sagacity peculiar to himself, he united all the prominent features of the Grecian character, valour, eloquence, address, flexibility to vary his conduct, without changing his purpose, the most extraordinary powers of application and perseverance, of cool combination and ardent execution. Intercepted in the middle of his career by the hand of an assassin, he was prevented from undertaking the justest and noblest design of his reign; a design which he had long meditated, and in which his near prospect of success promised to reward the labours and dangers of his toilsome life. Had not his days been shortened by a premature death, there is good reason to believe, that he might have subdued the Persian empire; an enterprize more dazzling, but less difficult, than the exploits which he had already achieved. Had that event taken place, the arduous undertakings of his long and successful reign would have been ennobled and illuminated by the splendour of extensive foreign conquest. Philip would have reached the height of such renown, as is obtained by the habits of activity, vigilance, and fortitude in the pursuit of unbounded greatness; and, in the opinion of posterity, would perhaps have surpassed the glory of all kings and conquerors, who either preceded or followed him. Yet, even on this supposition, there is not any man of sense and probity, who, if he allows himself time for serious reflection, would purchase the imagined grandeur and prosperity of the king of Macedon, at the price of his artifices and crimes; and to a philosopher, who considered either the means by which he obtained his triumphs, or the probable consequences of his dominion over Greece and Asia, the busy ambition of this mighty conqueror would appear but a deceitful scene of splendid misery.

• Arrian.

overcome. The feeble resistance which the armies of Europe, in modern times, have met with in India, shews us with what facility conquests are made in the eastern world.

The bad success of the Persians in their several invasions of Greece, the conquests of Agesilaus, and the retreat of the ten thousand, had demonstrated the superiority of Greece to Persia, and inspired the Grecian soldiers with that confidence which leads to victory.

The army of Alexander was composed of those hardy veterans who had fought and conquered under the banners of his father. Philip carried the military art to a degree of perfection which was formerly unknown. He invented, or improved the phalanx, which was so successful in Greece, and proved formidable even to the Romans; he kept the *first standing army* which is known in history; and his troops were not only expert in arms, but accustomed to victory. Such an army, under the conduct of an illustrious leader, was a match for the millions of the East. Alexander, with his host, crossed the Hellespont. He conducted, with his own hand, the vessel in which he sailed, and was the first of the army who leapt on Asiatic ground. Arriving at Ilium, he celebrated public games to the memory of Achilles, and expressed his envy at the good fortune of that hero, in having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after his death a Homer to immortalize his exploits.

When he arrived at the banks of the Granicus, that instantaneous decision, which marks the characters of great men, prompted him to take advantage of the terror which the news of his arrival had created among the Persians. His courage was animated, rather than depressed, at the view of the vast army which was drawn up on the opposite side, consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, under the command of Memnon the Rhodian. Alexander, placing himself in the front of his army, plunged into the river, and was followed by all his troops. They landed, and both armies came to the charge. Victory was decisive on the side of the Greeks.

The victory at Granicus propagated the terror of the Macedonian arms. Sardis, the key of upper Asia, opened its gates to the conqueror. After this battle Alexander dismissed his fleet, to lay his army under the necessity of conquering, and to cut off all hope of returning to their native country.

Darius advanced against his enemy with all the pomp of Persia. Instead of choosing favourable ground, where he might

might have brought all his forces into action, he led his army into the defiles of Cilicia, near the city of Ipfus, where numbers were of no avail. He was defeated. After the battle, Alexander visited the wounded, saw the dead interred, and congratulated his soldiers on the victory they had obtained.

The Persian camp afforded abundant proof of Asiatic luxury and opulence. Among other things of value in the tent of Darius, was found a casket of exquisite workmanship, adorned with jewels. It was employed to hold Darius's perfumes.—Alexander said, "I use no perfumes, but shall put into it something more precious." This was the *Iliad* of Homer, corrected by Aristotle, and often mentioned by ancient writers, under the title of "*The Iliad of the Casket* *."

There were in the camp, in money, no more than three thousand talents; the magnificent treasures, which accompanied the great king, being deposited previous to the battle in the neighbouring city of Damascus. This inestimable booty was afterwards seized by order of Alexander, who found in the camp a booty more precious, the wife and daughters of Darius, his mother Syfigambis, and his infant son.

In an age when prisoners of war were synonymous with slaves, Alexander behaved to his royal captives with the tenderness of a parent, blended with the respect of a son. In his chaste attention to Statira, the fairest beauty of the East, his conduct forms a remarkable contrast with that of his admired Achilles, whom he equalled in valour, but far surpassed in humanity. These illustrious princesses bore their own misfortunes with patience, but burst into dreadful lamentations, when informed by an eunuch that he had seen the mantle of Darius in the hands of a Macedonian soldier. Alexander sent to assure them that Darius yet lived; and the next day visited them in person, accompanied by Hephestion, the most affectionate of his friends. Syfigambis approached to prostrate herself before the conqueror, according to the custom of the East; but not knowing the king, as their dress was alike, she turned to Hephestion, who suddenly stepping back, Syfigambis saw her mistake, and was covered with confusion. "You mistook not, madam!" said the king, "Hephestion is likewise Alexander †."

Syria now submitted, without resistance, to the arms of the conqueror. The Phœnicians beheld with joy a hero who

* Strabo and Plutarch.

† Alexander with his usual discernment, characterised the affection of Hephestion: "Cræsus loves the prince; Hephestion loves Alexander."

Plutarch.

was to avenge them of the Persians, who could not subsist without the commerce of that city. After a siege of seven months, it was taken.

During his residence in Egypt, he laid the foundation of a maritime city, near one of the mouths of the river Nile, which he honoured with his own name. The situation was happy; as, by the Mediterranean Sea, and the neighbourhood of the Arabian Gulf, it might command the trade both of the East and of the West. Alexandria soon became the chief commercial city in the world. His expedition to the temple of Jupiter Hammon, which has been regarded as the exploit of a madman, was in the train of Eastern policy. All the conquerors of the East had been recognized as the sons of Jove. The battle of Arbela decided the fate of Darius. Babylon, Susa, Persépolis, Ecbatana, opened their gates to the conqueror; and the death of Darius, slain by his favourites, Bessus and Nabazanes, rendered him master of the Persian Empire. He meditated to extend his dominion over all the nations of the East. He penetrated into India, but seems rather to have discovered than conquered that continent *. Having pushed his conquests, as he imagined, to the remotest corners of the world, he returned to Babylon.

He now bent his mind to model and govern that empire which he had subdued. He studied to unite the two nations of Greeks and Persians, and to abolish the distinction of a conquering and conquered people. As the Asiatics are wedded to their customs, he assumed their manners, the garb of their monarchs, and the splendour of their court. He connected the Greeks and Persians by marriages, he established Greek colonies in Asia, he permitted the conquered people to retain their customs, manners, civil laws, and religion; and took every precaution of policy to consolidate his conquests by the union of the two people.

Alexander died at Babylon, in the prime of life, in the year before Christ 324. A fever, occasioned, or at least increased, by an excessive abuse of wine, the vice of his nation and of his family, put a period to his life, in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. After the first days of the disorder, he had been conveyed to the cool verdure of a beautiful garden; but the malady increasing he was soon brought back to the palace. The last remains of strength he spent in assisting at daily sacrifices to the gods.

During his illness he spoke but little, and that only con-

* Universal History.

cerning his intended expeditions. The temples were crowded by his friends; the generals waited in the hall; the soldiers surrounded the gates. Such was the grief of many, and the respectful admiration of all, that none ventured to announce to him his approaching dissolution, none ventured to demand his last orders. When all hopes of recovery had vanished, his favourite troops were admitted to behold him. He was speechless, but had still strength to stretch forth his hand.

Alexander the Great had the virtues and the faults of a transcendent character. A sudden *flash* of decision, rather than long revolved plans, directed his actions; and history ranks him among those extraordinary men, whose genius and talents, forwarded by fortune, have made a revolution in the world.

He was of a low stature and somewhat deformed; but the activity and elevation of his mind animated and ennobled his frame. By a life of continual labour, and by an early habitual practice of the gymnastic exercises, he had hardened his body against the impressions of cold and heat, hunger and thirst, and prepared his robust constitution for bearing such exertions of strength and activity, as have appeared incredible to the undisciplined softness of modern times. In generosity and in prowess, he rivalled the greatest heroes of antiquity; and in the race of glory, having finally outstripped all competitors, became ambitious to surpass himself. His superior skill in war gave uninterrupted success to his arms; and his natural humanity, enlightened by the philosophy of Greece, taught him to improve his conquests to the best interests of mankind. In his extensive dominions, he built, or founded, not less than seventy cities, the situation of which being chosen with consummate wisdom, tended to facilitate communication, to promote commerce, and to diffuse civility through the greatest nations of the earth. It may be suspected, indeed, that he mistook the extent of human power, when, in the course of one reign, he undertook to change the face of the world; and that he miscalculated the stubbornness of ignorance, and the force of habit, when he attempted to enlighten barbarism, to soften servitude, and to transplant the improvements of Greece into an African and Asiatic soil, where they have never been known to flourish. Yet let not the designs of Alexander be too hastily accused of extravagance. Whoever seriously considers what he actually performed before his thirty-third year, will be cautious of determining what he might have accomplished, had he reached the ordinary term
of

of human life. His resources were peculiar to himself; and such views, as well as actions, became him, as would have become none besides. In the language of a philosophical historian, he seems to have been given to the world by a peculiar dispensation of providence, being a man like to none other of the human kind.

CHAP. XIX.

Division of Alexander's Empire.—The Achaean League.—Greece becomes a Roman Province.

ALEXANDER, when he felt the approach of death, delivered his ring to Perdiccas; and being asked to whom he left his empire, answered, "To the most worthy;" adding, at the same time, that he foresaw with what strange rites they would celebrate his funeral.

It seems at first sight to be regretted, that by neglecting to provide for the succession to his throne, he left the field open for those bloody wars among his captains, which long desolated the earth. Yet the difficulties, with which he was himself obliged to struggle, might teach him the impossibility of securing the empire for the infancy of his son, or the weakness of his brother Aridæus. The principles of royal succession were never accurately ascertained in Macedon; and the camp of a conqueror could not be expected to prove a good school of moderation or justice. The first measure adopted by his generals was, to set aside the natural claim of Hercules, born of the daughter of Darius, and to appoint Aridæus together with the fruit of Roxana's pregnancy, if she brought forth a son to be joint heirs of the monarchy. This whimsical destination announced little union or stability.

The empire was divided. Perdiccas, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Seleucus, Lyfimachus, Antipater and Cassander, all of them his captains, and trained up to war under his banners, contended by force of arms for the possession of his dominions. They sacrificed to their ambition, the whole family of Alexander, his brother, his sisters, his mother, his wives, and his children. After twenty years of bloodshed and horror, the battle of Ipsus decided the fate of the competitors. A division of the empire took place. Ptolemy obtained the possession of Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Palestine, and Cœlo-syria; Cassander

Of the Fine Arts and Literature among the Greeks. 109

Cassander made himself master of Macedonia and Greece; Lyfimachus of Thrace and Bithynia; and Seleucus of the rest of Asia to the river Indus.

These kingdoms were formed in the midst of guilt, distraction, and death. They continued as they began. The sceptre was never wielded apart from the sword. The throne that rose in treason was supported by blood. This composes their whole history.

One illustrious exception requires to be mentioned. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, had Egypt for his division. His merit had raised him from low extraction to the rank of general under Alexander. Aloof from the quarrels of his competitors, he strengthened his own authority, and promoted the happiness of his people. He encouraged the arts and sciences, and founded the famous library in Alexandria.

Since her subjection to the Macedonian empire, Greece submitted, without reluctance, to the yoke. The Achean league revived the image of her ancient freedom, and produced her last heroes, Aratus and Philopemen, worthy of the best days of the republic. After this dying struggle for liberty, Greece was harassed by the jealousies and quarrels of rival states, until she sunk into a conquered province of the Romans; a new people, who had lately appeared upon the scene, and had been advancing by slow but certain steps to universal dominion.

C H A P. XX.

*Of the Fine Arts and Literature among the Greeks—Poetry—
Music—Painting—Statuary—Architecture—Medicine—
Eloquence—History—Philosophy.*

POETRY is perhaps the first of all arts; the most savage nations have cultivated it. Men, by a kind of instinct, love to sing their pleasures and happiness, the praises of the divinity whom they adore, the actions of the hero they admire, and whatever they would wish to have impressed on the heart.

A lively imagination, an inventive fancy, and a correct taste, are necessary to excel in poetry. The writings of Homer, and other Greek poets, shew them to have been possessed

possessed of these talents. Their language, flexible and sonorous, majestic, graceful and strong, was adapted to poetry. No language is so well suited as the Greek, to make the sound an echo to the sense.

The most early Grecian poets, whose names or compositions have reached our times, were enlightened sages. Such were Orpheus, Linus, and others; who, taught, in verse, the most sublime tenets, which they had acquired in Egypt or Phœnicia, concerning the nature of the Deity, the creation of the world, and that providence by which it is governed.

To the Mythical Poets, succeeded the Military Bards, who attended the Grecian chieftains, during the Theban and Trojan wars, and on other hostile expeditions; who sung their exploits in their halls, after their return; and travelling over Greece, and the islands of the Ægean sea, widely spread their renown. From the songs of those Bards, Homer collected the materials of his incomparable Iliad; which, as it was not the work of fancy, but a collection of historical facts, heightened by the charms of poetry, and blended with allegorical imagery suited to popular belief, contains a greater variety of characters, nicely discriminated, and portrayed with the pencil of truth, than any other ancient or modern composition.

As the object of the Iliad was to teach the necessity of union among military commanders, in displaying the distresses occasioned by the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon at the siege of Troy; the Odyssey had for its moral, the encouragement of wisdom and virtue under misfortunes, in the happy termination of the travels and sufferings of Ulysses.

Hesiod the cotemporary of Homer, being a man of a sedate and contemplative turn of mind, has furnished us with the first didactic composition. It has for its object *Agriculture*; with references to the times and seasons best fitted for the labours of husbandry, according to the various soils and cultures, and adapted to the superstitious notions of the early Greeks.

The Lyric poets present us with effusions of the human mind, under the influence of various passions; and naturally lead us to enquire after the origin of *Poetry and Music*.

Some critics have ascribed the origin of poetry to *love*, some to *religion*, and some to *war*; but men were surely lovers, before they were warriors or devotees. It should, therefore, be assigned to love. The intercourse of the sexes, gradually ripening sensibility, calls forth the first strong emotions of the youthful breast. Fancy, in that season of life, is
warm;

warm; and bestows on the beloved object a thousand adventitious charms. As the tongue wants power to express the feelings of the enamoured heart, common language wants force to declare its raptures, or paint its agitations. Fancy catches fire from the torch of admiration; and breathes, in disjointed phrases, the lover's flame. Hence *Love Songs*, as they are the first emanations of an ardent mind, have been the first poetical productions in most countries.

But love, though the most early, is not the only strong passion in the human breast. After the formation of political society, other passions take the lead. As soon as religion was called in to the aid of legislation, that devotion which, in simple times, had been paid to *Woman*, was transferred to the gods, and poured out in *hymns* or *sacred songs*. The Muses also were ever ready to *sound the charge to battle*, to sing the *triumphal song*, or record the *actions of heroes*.

Music had the same origin with poetry. The Greeks were fond of music. It had even an influence on their laws, and tended to give a softness to their manners. All nations, whether barbarous or civilized, have felt the power of harmony, and shewn that a taste for music is natural to man. Music softens savage manners, inspires courage and the love of virtue, and animates to noble actions. Music and poetry are twin sisters. The bards, in former times, were both poets and musicians. They sang the achievements of their hero in poetic strains of their own composing. Ancient music was manly, nervous, simple and majestic; proper to sooth the passions, and regulate the temper. The effeminate music of modern times was then unknown.

Musical instruments, but especially *wind instruments*, were soon employed in the service of religion. And the harp or lyre, a *stringed instrument*, was very early in use among the Grecian chieftains and military bards. The compositions of those bards, rapid, sublime, and wild, were naturally adapted to the lyre; though they had not the perfect form of the higher ode, the merit of constructing which is due to the genius of Pindar.

Anacreon has given us more perfect examples of cheerful and jovial songs, than any author in ancient or modern times. He was the poet of taste and conviviality; and although he lived in an age, when politeness was little understood in Greece, no poet ever had the talent of turning a compliment with more elegance, or of more powerfully awakening social joy. The following imitation of one of his Odes, may serve as a specimen of his manner of writing:

“To

" To all creatures of the earth
 " Bounteous Nature, at their birth
 " Gave the aids, or gave the arms;
 " To secure their lives from harms,
 " To the Bull the front of steel,
 " To the Horse the horned heel;
 " Swiftnefs to the timorous Hare
 " Fur and fury to the Bear;
 " To the Pard the deathful paw,
 " The Lion the devouring jaw,
 " Man the unconquerable mind;
 " What for woman was behind?
 " Lovely Woman! yet in store
 " Nature had one present more;
 " Thee she gave the power to charm:
 " Beauty all things can disarm."

The drama was invented in the time of Solon, for before that period, the Grecian plays did not deserve the name of dramatic performances: Eschylus, who was contemporary with Xerxes, was the father of tragedy; he endeavoured by terror and pity to move the heart. Sophocles made tragedy more interesting; his plots were regular, and his style, lofty and nervous, was better suited to that style of writing, than the style of Eschylus. Euripides, who contended with Sophocles for the palm of victory, introduced into his tragedies that philosophy, which is calculated to inspire the mind with the love of virtue.

The province of comedy is to expose vice by turning it into ridicule, that by exposing faulty characters upon the stage, it may be a means to correct those vices which are not amenable to human laws. The ancient comedy was very faulty in this; it exposed living characters, by directly pointing at them, and turning them into ridicule. It is a proof of the licentious manners of the Athenians, that they could be pleased with the buffooneries of an Aristophanes, while he endeavoured to turn Socrates into ridicule upon the stage, as if he had been one of the worst men in Athens. The middle comedy, as it is called, insulted a person with naming him. The new comedy described manners, without pointing at any particular person. This is the comedy of modern times; "A mirror, as an eminent writer says, in which one may see the picture of himself, laugh at his own follies, and in an agreeable manner learn to correct them *."

* Boileau.

Herodotus gave simplicity and elegance to prosaic writing, Isocrates gave it cadence and harmony, but it was left to Thucydides and Demosthenes to discover the full force of the Greek tongue.

Greece produced also the most famous artists in Architecture and Painting. Ctesiphon was an eminent architect, and made the model of the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus. He built part of it himself, and the rest was finished by his son Metagenes, and other architects. Phidias was an excellent Greek statuary. He made the statue of Minerva to so great perfection, that the ancients boasted of it, and considered it as the master-piece of art. He placed it in the citadel of Athens. Being afterwards banished from Athens, he retired into the province of Elis, where he finished a statue of Jupiter. This he placed in the temple of Olympia, and it passed for one of the wonders of the world. He is said to have been killed at Elis. Myron was a famous statuary. The figure of a brazen cow made by him, gained him great reputation, and was the occasion of many fine epigrams in Greek. Zeuxis was esteemed the most skilful of all the ancients in the disposal of the colours. The Helena which he painted for the town of Cortona in Italy, gained him great reputation. He died of a fit of laughter at the sight of an old woman's picture which he had drawn.

Apelles was the most famous painter of antiquity, born at Cos, an island in the Ægean sea. He painted many pieces mentioned by the ancients with admiration, particularly two portraits of Venus issuing out of the sea. His picture of Alexander, grasping a thunderbolt, was sold to the temple of Ephesian Diana for four thousand pounds. His Venus Anadyomené was damaged by accident. None would venture to restore the parts that had been effaced; so that the injury of the picture contributed to the glory of the artist. The model of this Venus was the beautiful Campaspé, the favourite mistress of Alexander. The sensibility of Apelles was too deeply penetrated with the charms, which he so successfully expressed. Alexander was no sooner acquainted with his passion, than, in the language of Pliny, he made him a present, not only of Campaspé, but of his own affection, too little respecting the feelings of the beloved object, at her degradation from being the mistress of a king, to become the possession of a painter.

This celebrated artist, however, who enjoyed other striking marks of his master's partiality and friendship, lived on good terms with his brethren. With the frankness of his age

and nation, he assumed the merit which belonged to him, and freely asserted, that none of his competitors could imitate the gracefulness of his attitudes and figures *. But in some other branches of the art, he acknowledged himself inferior to several of his contemporaries.

The desire of seeing the works of Protogenes carried him to Rhodes. He there found a rival not altogether unworthy to alarm his jealousy. But instead of yielding to the dictates of that unworthy passion, he drew Protogenes from obscurity; raised the price of his pictures; and taught the Rhodians who undervalued the same talents in their fellow citizen, which they admired in a stranger, to acknowledge and respect his merit.

Greece too produced the celebrated Hippocrates, *father of Physic*, who was born at Cos, in the year before Christ 430. He drew his original from Hercules and Æsculapius, and was the first that gave established precepts in physic, whereby he became so famous, that the Grecians honoured him as a God: And it is said of him, that he neither knew how to deceive, or to be deceived. The Greeks excelled in oratory. Eloquence flourishes most in popular Governments. There the public speaker has the most proper incitements and opportunities to display his oratorical powers, and to acquire perfection in the art of speaking. The Athenian Government was favourable to eloquence. It could not fail to thrive in a city, where popular applause was the road to fame and to fortune. True eloquence is the art of convincing by reason; it interests our passions and persuades, by speaking to the feelings and judgment of men. In Greece oratory was taught like other sciences; the orator not only declaimed in the schools, but early accustomed himself to speak in public.

The Sophists, who set up to be public teachers, corrupted the Grecian eloquence. They wandered from the road of truth and nature, taught their scholars to alter the appearance of things, to give the varnish of truth to falsehood, to dazzle rather than convince their hearers, and to take either side of the question.

Pericles restored true eloquence at Athens, and Demosthenes carried it to perfection. Nature had not formed Demosthenes an orator; his voice was weak, his pronunciation defective; he could not pronounce the letter R: these defects occasioned his being hissed the first time he attempted to speak in public. A comedian, to whom he lamented his misfortune,

* Pliny.

told him, he might take comfort, for his case was not desperate; there was a remedy for his defects, and a way to attain to the powers of oratory. The player made him rehearse some verses, which he afterwards repeated with such grace and energy, that Demosthenes found they had quite a different effect. This convinced the orator, that his success depended on action. To acquire it, he built himself a little cell, where he used to practise for months together. To accustom himself to the noise of a tumultuous assembly, he would sometimes declaim on the sea shore; at other times, to help him to pronounce well, he would speak with small stones in his mouth, while walking or climbing up a hill. Perseverance and ambition to excel, can overcome the greatest difficulties. Demosthenes, conquered nature, and, by the power of his eloquence, ruled the Athenians as he pleased. The most famous orators fell before him. Philip of Macedon used to say, that he dreaded the thunder of Demosthenes's eloquence more than the fleets and armies of Greece. He bids fare to excel as an orator, who carefully forms himself upon the ancients; whereas, to neglect the imitation of Demosthenes and Cicero, these great masters of oratory, is the sure way never to make a figure as a public speaker.

It was not, however, in the fine arts alone that the Greeks excelled. Every species of philosophy was cultivated among them with the utmost success. Not to mention the divine Socrates, the virtues of whose life, and the excellence of whose philosophy, justly entitled him to a very high degree of veneration; his three disciples, Plato, Aristotle, and Xenophon, may, for strength of reasoning, justness of sentiment, and propriety of expression, be put on a footing with the writers of any age or country. Experience, indeed, in a long course of years, has taught us many secrets in nature with which these philosophers were unacquainted, and which no strength of genius could divine. But whatever some vain empirics in learning may pretend, the most learned and ingenious men both in France and England, have acknowledged the superiority of the Greek philosophers; and have accounted themselves happy in catching their turn of thinking, and manner of expression. But the Greeks were not less distinguished for their active than for their speculative talents. It would be endless to recount the names of their famous statesmen and warriors, and it is impossible to mention a few without doing injustice to a greater number. War was first reduced into a science by the Greeks. Their soldiers fought from an affection to their country, and an ardor for glory, and not from a

dread of their superiors. We have seen the effects of this military virtue in their wars against the Persians. The cause of it was the wise laws which Amphictyon, Solon, and Lycurgus had established in Greece.

C H A P. XXI.

Rome under the Kings.

ITALY is a Peninsula, washed by the sea on every side, except where a chain of the Alps joins it to the Continent. It was peopled before the art of navigation was known; and, of consequence, the first inhabitants entered by land.

Three passages present themselves in the Alps; one to the north, another to the south, and the third through the Straits of Tirol and Trentin. The Illyrians bordered on the first; the Iberians, or Spaniards, on the second; and the Celtæ, on the third. By these nations, therefore, Italy was at first peopled*.

At that time Italy presented the appearance, which we beheld in early Greece. No kings, nor nations, nor cities, existed. Wandering tribes began to settle from necessity or choice, and to cultivate the ground when its natural fertility failed.

The Etruscans, and the Aborigines of Latium, are the only Italian nations, concerning whom history or tradition has furnished us with any particulars worthy of mentioning, till after the building of Rome. The Etruscans appear to have been in possession of the greater part of Italy, and lords of the neighbouring seas, as early as the time of the Argonautic expedition†. How long their empire remained unbroken, is uncertain. We only know, that during several centuries subsequent to the Trojan war, they continued to be the most powerful and civilized nation in the Italian Peninsula, and successfully cultivated the *Arts of Design*, before they could be said to have taken root in Greece‡. Yet a

* Academ. Inscript. et Bell. Lett. tom. 18.

† Diodorus Siculus.

‡ Universal History.

celebrated antiquarian, who admits this early proficiency, conjectures, from the remains of their sculpture and painting, that the Etruscans must have been indebted for the principles of these arts, and also for those of their literature, to Grecian Emigrants*.

About sixty years before the Trojan war, and during the reign of Faunus, king of the Aborigines, a band of Grecian adventurers from Arcadia, under Evander their leader, arrived in that part of Italy, afterwards known by the name of Latium.

In the reign of Latinus, the son and successor of Faunus, Æneas and a body of Trojans, who had escaped in the general slaughter of their countrymen, on the subversion of the kingdom of Priam, and the destruction of Troy by the Greeks, landed at Laurentium, on the coast of the Aborigines, in the year before Christ 1184;† and having obtained permission to form a settlement, they built a city on a hill, near the mouth of the Tiber. To that city the Trojan prince gave the name of Lavinium, in grateful expression of his affection for Lavinia, the king's daughter, and only child, who had been granted to him in marriage†.

The good fortune of Æneas attended his followers. The Trojans were generally able to form marriages with the women of Latium; and soon became so perfectly incorporated with the principal families, that both they and the Aborigines took the common name of Latines, in honour of Latinus, who had shewed the example of alliance, and formed, with his daughter's hand, the great bond of their union.

Upon the death of Æneas, his son Ascanius, built a new city on Mount Albanus, which, from its situation, was named Alba Longa. From the kings of Alba were descended Romulus and Remus, the founders of the Roman empire. Romulus and Remus were twin brothers, the reputed sons of Rhea Sylvia by Mars, who, as history relates, carried on a secret correspondence with this vestal, the daughter of Numitor, the last king of Alba. The infants were no sooner born, than by order of Amulius, brother of Numitor, and his competitor for the throne, they were exposed in the river Tiber; but were preserved by Faustulus, the king's shepherd; who, ignorant of any design against their lives, carried them home, and his wife nursed them as their own children.

* Winkleman. † Livy.

Lucius Florus, and other Roman writers of good credit, give a different account of these brothers, and say, that they were brought up by a she-wolf, who gave them suck, and defended them from the other wild beasts. This circumstance of their nurture has been so strongly established, that it has been always expressed on the most ancient medals and sculpture of the Romans.

However fabulous this account may be, it is with greater certainty related, that the two brothers, some time after, became acquainted with their birth, deposed Amulius, and restored Numitor, their grandfather, to the throne of Alba. They, at the same time, determined to lay the foundation of a new town for themselves; but first, according to the custom of the times, they applied to *Augury* for a declaration of the Gods where it should be built. Remus seated himself on the Aventine hill, where he saw six vultures, and Romulus placed himself on the Palatine hill, where he saw twelve. Upon this, Romulus caused the city to be built on that spot where the Gods had declared themselves in his favour, in the year before Christ 735. A jealousy, however, arising from this incident, or from a disagreement upon the building or government of this new city, the brothers quarrelled, and Remus, in jumping over the city wall, in ridicule of its lowness, was killed. Upon this event, the whole power rested in Romulus, who gave his own name to the infant city, and consecrated it to the god Mars. The city wanted inhabitants. To increase their number Romulus opened an asylum at Rome to fugitives, vagabonds, and slaves. He chose an hundred senators, who, from their age, were called Fathers, and their children Patricians.

The neighbouring nations refusing to ally themselves by marriages to this infant community, games were prepared in honour of Neptune; and, while people of both sexes flocked from all quarters to the shew, the Roman youth entered in arms, and carried off the virgins.

Enraged at this injury and affront, the neighbouring tribes declared war. Conducting themselves with more resentment than wisdom, they armed without concert, took the field one after another, and were successively defeated.

The Sabines, the most formidable of these foes, had made themselves masters of the Tarpeian fortress, and Rome was on the point of yielding to their arms, when the Sabine women, who had been the cause of the war, threw themselves between the armies, and peace was made. The two people were joined

joined in one, and Tatius reigned at Rome conjunctly with Romulus.

After the death of Tatius, Romulus reigned alone. Having subjected several people of Latium, and disposed of their lands by his sole authority; whilst he was reviewing his troops, at a small distance from the city, he disappeared.

The Senators were suspected of having taken this opportunity of freeing themselves of a prince, who had broke the original contract of government. They, indeed, imputed this disappearance of Romulus to the Gods; a great tempest and eclipse happening at the same time, they gave out that in the midst of the tempest, he was suddenly caught up by the Gods, and carried into the heavens. The people were easily persuaded of the truth of this incident, and Julius Proculus, one of the Senators, declared that Romulus had appeared to him, and assured him, that the Gods had admitted him into their order, and charged the people to invoke him by the name of Quirinus. He was accordingly reckoned one of the Roman Deities, and divine honours were paid to him.

After an interregnum of a year, Numa Pompilius succeeded Romulus in the government. This prince did not possess the military abilities of his predecessor, but was in high reputation for his probity and civil virtues. He gave a proper check to the warlike ardour of this new state, by inspiring the people with a respect for the laws, and a reverence for the Gods. He regulated the year, and gave the months January and February the first place in the Roman calendar. He encouraged agriculture by dividing the lands among the poorer sort of his subjects. Thus by wise regulations, and a mild government, it may be said that Numa contributed more to the happiness, than Romulus did to the greatness of the Roman State. After a reign of forty-three years he died greatly lamented, not only by his own subjects, but by all the neighbouring nations.

Tullus Hostilius was chosen the third king of Rome. He was a bold and enterprising Prince, and made great improvement in the art of war and military discipline. He endeavoured to gain the love of the people by his liberality; for having a large patrimony of his own, sufficient to maintain the royal dignity, he bestowed upon his poorer subjects the demesnes of the crown. He engaged in a war with the people of Alba, from whom the Romans were descended.

The Albans, having committed some depredations on the Roman Territory, Tullus declared war against them, but when both parties took the field, it was agreed to decide the

contest by three combatants on each side. The Albans named the Curiatii, three brothers, for their champions. The three sons of Horatius were chosen for the Romans.

The treaty being concluded, the three brothers on each side, arrayed themselves in armour, according to agreement. Each side exhorts their respective champions, representing to them, that their gods, their country, their parents, every individual in the city and army, now fixed their eyes on their arms and valour. The generous combatants, intrepid in themselves, and animated by such exhortations, marched forth, and stood between the two armies. The armies placed themselves before their respective camps, and were less solicitous for any present danger than for the consequence of this action. They therefore gave their whole attention to a fight, which could not but alarm them. The signal is given. The combatants engage with hostile weapons, and **themselves** inspired with the intrepidity of two mighty armies. Both sides equally insensible of their own danger, had nothing in view but the slavery or liberty of their country, whose destiny depended upon their conduct.

At the first onset, the clashing of their armour, and the terrific gleam of their swords, filled the spectators with such trepidation, fear, and horror, that the faculty of speech and breath seemed totally suspended, even while the hope of success inclined to neither side. But, when it came to a closer engagement, not only the motion of their bodies, and the furious agitation of their weapons arrested the eyes of the spectators, but their opening wounds and the streaming blood. Two of the Romans fell, and expired at the feet of the Albani, who were all three wounded. Upon their fall, the Alban army shouted for joy, while the Roman legions remained without hope, but not without concern, being eagerly anxious for the surviving Roman, then surrounded by three adversaries. Happily he was not wounded; but, not being a match for three, though superior to any of them singly, he had recourse to a stratagem for dividing them. He betook himself to flight, rightly supposing that they would follow him at unequal distances, as their strength, after so much loss of blood, would permit.

Having fled a considerable way from the spot where they fought, he looked back, and saw the Curiatii pursuing at a considerable distance from one another, and one of them very near upon him. He turned with all his fury; and, while the Alban army were crying out to his brothers to succour him,

him, Horatius, who had already slain the first enemy, rushed forward to a second victory.

The Romans encourage their champion by such acclamations as generally proceed from unexpected success. He, on the other hand, hastens to put an end to the second combat, and slew another, before the third, who was not far off, could come up to his assistance.

There now remained only one combatant on each side, but neither equal in strength, expectations, nor hopes. The Roman, who had received no hurt, and who was fired by gaining a double victory, advances with great confidence to his third combat. His antagonist, on the other hand, being weakened by loss of blood and spent with running so far, could scarce draw his legs after him, and, being already dispirited by the death of his brothers, presents his throat to the victor; for, it could not be called a contest. "Two," says the exulting Roman, "I have already sacrificed to the manes of my brothers;—the third I will offer up to my country, that henceforth Rome may give laws to Alba." Upon which he transfixed him with his sword, who was scarce able any longer to wield his weapons, and, as he lay gasping on the ground, stripped him of his armour. The Romans received Horatius into their camp with an exultation great as their former fear. After this, each party buried their respective dead, but with very different sentiments, the one reflecting on the sovereignty they had acquired, and the other on their subjection to the power of the Romans*.

When young Horatius, named Marcus, approached the gates of Rome, loaded with the spoils of his vanquished antagonists, he was met by his sister, who had been promised in marriage to one of the Curiatii; and who forgetting the delicacy of her sex, and her condition as a bride, had anxiously mingled with the crowd of applauding spectators. On seeing her brother clothed in an embroidered robe, which she had wrought for her lover, and in which he was to have been dressed on their nuptial day, she burst into tears; she wildly tore her hair; and in the anguish of her heart, keenly reproached the exulting conqueror with the murder of his near kinsman, and her bridegroom.

"Thy bridegroom!" exclaimed Marcus Horatius; O, sister, lost at once to virtue and to shame! hast thou no regard for the blood of thy brothers, or the glory of thy country?—Go, then," said he, in the heat of his patriotic

Livy,

indignation

indignation, "go to thy bridegroom!" drawing his sword and sheathing it in her breast; "go! and carry with thee a degenerate passion, which has led thee to disgrace thy family, and fully the splendour of this illustrious day. Be gone, and so perish all, who weep at the death of an enemy of Rome."

Old Horatius, their venerable father, though deeply stung with grief, entered into the feelings of his heroic son; and was so far from resenting the death of his daughter, that he would not permit her body to be buried in the sepulchre of her ancestors, or her funeral to be honoured with the usual solemnities. Tullus Hostilius, however, found himself under the necessity of bringing the victorious champion to trial, for the violence he had committed. Marcus Horatius was accordingly cited before the tribunal of the Duumviri, the proper judges of such crimes; and they condemned him to lose his life, and ordered the lictors to bind his hands. But he, by the advice of the king, appealed to the assembly of the Roman people; and they repealed the sentence of the Duumviri, in consideration of the circumstances of the criminal, rather than out of lenity to his crime; establishing, by that precedent, their right of judging ultimately in capital causes.

In a short time, the Albans again rebelled, and were defeated by Tullus, who razed the city of Alba to the ground, after it had flourished 487 years. He, at the same time, transplanted the inhabitants into Rome, settled them on Mount Cælius, and granted them all the Roman privileges. This prince died of a lingering disorder, after a reign of thirty-one years; or, as some relate, he and his whole family perished by lightning.

Ancus Martius, who succeeded on the death of Tullus, opened a door for farther conquests, and the increase of commerce, by establishing a port at Ostia, ten miles distant from Rome, at the mouth of the river Tiber. He afterwards overcame the Volsci, Veientes, and other people who had revolted from their obedience to Rome; and spent the remainder of his reign in enriching his subjects, and improving the city.

After the death of Ancus Martius, Lucumen, the son of a Corinthian merchant, who had settled at Tarquinium, by address and intrigue, paved his way to the throne. He assumed the name of Tarquin.

As he was a stranger, in order to strengthen his authority in the senate, and attach the people to his interest, he created
a hundred

a hundred new senators, whom he chose from the most distinguished of the Plebeian families.

The Grecian magnificence and elegance began now to be introduced into Rome. The works which Tarquin erected became the admiration of after ages, and remain to this day monuments of the Roman grandeur. "Already," says a celebrated philosopher*, "they began to lay the foundation of that city which was to be eternal."

On the death of Tarquin, Servius Tullius, his son-in-law, succeeded to the throne. In consequence of early customs, which the Romans had adopted from necessity, the inhabitants of Rome increased at the end of every war. It became requisite, therefore, to enlarge the boundaries of the city, and Servius Tullius extended the Pomeria from the Quirinal Mount to the Viminal and Esquiline Hills.

As it was now necessary to enlarge the city, it was no less requisite to alter the form of government. The changes which he introduced deserve to be studied, as they proved the source of the dissensions in the republic, and prepared the way for the revolutions of Rome. Since the period that the Albans and Sabines were established at Rome, the tribes formed three nations, which had equally a share in the government. Every Curia voted in the public assemblies, and every citizen in the Curia. Hence the law was the voice of the majority, and the sovereign power resided in the people.

At first the soldiers of Romulus were equal in point of property. Two acres of land had been allotted to each individual; and while there was an equality of fortune, there was an equality of power in the community. A part of the Roman territory had been reserved for the public domain. The Romans were continually making new conquests. By incroachments upon the public domain, and a larger division of the conquered lands to some than to others, an inequality of fortune was established, and a distinction of ranks took place.

To class the inhabitants according to their wealth, Servius instituted the Census. At the first numbering of the nation, twenty-four thousand men were enrolled fit to carry arms. He divided the people into six classes, and every class into centuries, composed of an unequal number of citizens. He placed ninety-eight centuries in the first class. This com-

* Montesquieu.

prehended the richest citizens, that is, those who were possessed of an hundred minæ. Sixty-five minæ qualified for the second class, which consisted of twenty-two centuries. Fifty for the third, which was composed of twenty. Twenty-five for the fourth, consisting, like the second, of twenty-two; and twelve and a half for the fifth, which comprehended thirty. The sixth class formed only one century, in which Servius left all the poorer citizens.

All the people were divided into a hundred and ninety-three centuries. The five first classes bore all the burdens of the state; but the partition was made according to the number of centuries. Thus, the first class, which consisted of ninety-eight centuries, contributed more than all the rest put together.

To recompence the rich for the services which they performed, and the taxes which they paid, Servius enacted, that, for the future, the people should assemble by centuries; that their suffrages should be collected by centuries; and that the first class should give the first suffrage. These were the assemblies, which, after this regulation, passed into a law, elected magistrates, made peace, decreed war, and exercised the sovereign power.

As all the centuries met in the public assemblies, all seemed to have an equal share in their deliberations; but, in fact, the whole power was secretly conveyed into the hands of the rich, and the right of suffrage possessed by the poorer citizens was merely nominal, and of no avail. As the whole nation was composed of a hundred and ninety-three centuries, if the ninety-eight centuries of the first class, which voted first, were unanimous, as generally happened, a majority of voices was declared. Thus, in the *Comitia* by centuries, the great body of the citizens, in a secret and insensible manner, were stripped of their authority.

Changes in the state of society produce changes in government. When an equality of fortunes prevailed, it was just that there should be an equality in the public assemblies, and that the majority of voices should determine. When a great inequality of fortune prevailed new arrangements became necessary. Power naturally follows on property, and they who bear the expences of government are entitled to a proportional share of its privileges and honours.

Meditating greater changes in the government, Servius was bereaved of his crown and life by his son-in-law Tarquin, in the forty-fourth year of his reign.

Having

Having made his way to the throne by blood-shed, Tarquin supported by violence the power which he had acquired by injustice; and, from an usurper, became a tyrant. Political, however, and enterprizing, he neglected no measure to secure his authority and extend his power.

From the time of Servius the constitution of Rome became aristocratical. The object of Tarquin was to humble the aristocracy and exalt the regal power. The plebeians, who saw at first with joy the humiliation of the great families, groaned at last under the burdens with which they were loaded; and, rather than submit to slavery, some of them slew themselves in despair.

A general cause, however great or important, is insufficient to determine the minds of men to action, without the particular impression of a recent event. We have beheld how Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, lost the crown. Sextus, the son of Tarquin, had committed a rape upon Lucretia. The outraged matron assembled her father, her husband, her relations, her friends; she told her story; and, unable to sur vive the affront, plunged a poniard into her bosom. Brutus wrenched the bloody weapon from the bosom of Lucretia, and swore by the Gods to revenge the Roman matron. Grasping the poniard one after another, all the friends renewed the same oath. Hence the liberty of Rome*.

After the expulsion of the kings, a form of government, in appearance republican, was established, though the senate reserved by far the greatest share of authority to themselves. The consuls succeeded to the kings, and the consular dignity differed in nothing from the royal power, but that the exercise thereof was limited to a year.

C H A P. XXII.

Remarks on the Reigns of the Roman Kings.

THE different dispositions of the Kings of Rome were well adapted to the nature and condition of a growing state. The aspiring temper of Romulus promoted the martial spirit of his companions, who, from different parts, associated with him for refuge, and looked upon Rome as a place of protection, whence they might, with impunity, make ex-

* Logan's Philosophy of History.

ursions to the neighbouring country, and carry on their depredations.

Numa, in this light also, was a proper successor to Romulus. This prince was better qualified to model and regulate than to found a state; his view was to soften the manners and rugged dispositions of the people, and to establish a subordination and mode of government among them. On this principle he instituted religious ceremonies, and introduced into the society the duties of religion, and the principles of urbanity: at the same time he endeavoured to impress them with the idea that the gods, in a particular manner, took them under their protection.

The reign of Tullus served to revive their valour, and inspired them with the thought of enlarging their dominion by the conquest of Alba, and other neighbouring states. These states, indeed, frequently opposed their designs, but never entered into a formidable association at once to suppress and abolish this infant colony.

On the increase of inhabitants, Ancus enlarged the city, joined a new suburb to it by a bridge across the Tyber, and opened a door for future improvement in commerce, by the convenient port of Ostia.

The dignity and pomp of government, was greatly raised by the ensigns of royalty introduced by Tarquinius Priscus, and by the splendor of his triumphs. Servius new-modelled the state, and divided the people into tribes and centuries. He also made a more equal distribution of impost among them; and was the first Prince who established a regular coin, or currency of money. And lastly, if we look to the event, the tyranny of Tarquin was advantageous to a people, who provoked by his abuse of power, were incited and animated to be on their guard, and recover that liberty they had so long maintained; which otherwise, without a commotion in the state, they were on the point of losing entirely.

It may be farther remarked, that in this first age of the Romans, and under the reign of their kings, they made but little progress in the extension of their first settlement. A small spot, of fifteen miles only, made the whole circuit of the Roman territory, notwithstanding the great increase of inhabitants. War and agriculture were almost their sole employ. Arts and sciences were but little cultivated among them; and their professed poverty, and disregard for riches, had not yet led them to commerce. Their chief wealth arose from conquest, and the spoil of their neighbours, which was always laid up in a public repository, and divided, according

according to a stated disposition, among the whole body of the people.

These general remarks cannot be better concluded than in the words of a judicious Historian*, who observes from Cicero, "When we consider at one view the increase of this infant state, which under the shadow of a monarchical but limited government, grew insensibly to a degree of maturity and strength, by wise regulations and wholesome laws; the Aruspices and religious ceremonies, the order of the assemblies, the power of the people owned and revered, the august assembly of the senate, looked upon as the great council of the nation, the military discipline and martial courage carried to a surprizing and astonishing height, all the parts of the commonwealth appear in so permanent and settled a state, as to seem almost entirely perfect. And yet this same commonwealth, after shaking off the regal yoke, and obtaining an extensive liberty, appeared still greatly different, and by a swift progress rose to a perfection and excellence hardly to be conceived."

C H A P. XXIII.

Rome under the Consuls.

BRUTUS, the deliverer of his country, and Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, were the first Consuls of Rome. They had no sooner taken possession of the government, than they filled up the vacant seats in the senate, and increased its number. The whole senate and people took a solemn oath, never to suffer the Tarquins, or any other king to reign at Rome.

Tarquin, however, by means of his ambassadors, attached a party of the Roman youth to his cause, who concerted measures to re-establish him on the throne. The conspirators, being detected, were brought before the consuls; and Brutus beheld his own sons. The father of his country, by a terrible example, fixed the foundation of Roman liberty. The people were summoned to the Comitia, where Brutus and his colleague sat on the tribunal of justice. The prisoners were brought and tied to stakes. Brutus began the trial with the

* Rollin.

examination of his sons. Vindicius, a slave, who first discovered the conspiracy, appeared against them, and his testimony was found unanswerable. Their guilt was likewise confirmed by their letters to the Tarquins, which were read. The proof being clear, the prisoners made no defence, but with their tears. "Titus," said Brutus coldly to two of the prisoners, without calling them sons, "and you, Tiberius, what have you to offer in your favours?" They were then called upon to make their defence, but tears were still their only answer. The senators were moved with compassion, and a confused murmur was heard among them. *Banish them, Banish them.* Collatinus wept. The whole assembly trembled, and expected the decision with horror. At length, Brutus rose up to give sentence. A profound silence ensued, whilst he, with a steady voice, not interrupted by a single sigh, turning to the lictors, who were the executioners, said, "To you, lictors, I deliver them; execute the law upon them." At these words a loud shriek, was heard in the assembly; distress was painted in every face; and the mournful looks of the people pleaded for pity. *We give them back to their country and to their family,* cried the whole assembly with one voice. But neither these intercessions, nor the bitter lamentations of the young men who called upon their father with the most endearing names, could soften the inflexible judge. He would not even abate of the punishment which was, in such cases, inflicted on the greatest criminals. The lictor seized them, and, having stripped them naked, and tied their hands behind their backs, first beat them with rods, and then struck off their heads, Brutus all the while gazing on the bloody spectacle, with a steady look, and unaltered countenance. When this execution was over, Brutus came down from the tribunal, quitted the comitia, and left the rest of the criminals to the discretion of his colleague*.

Collatinus acted on a different principle, and seemed disposed to save his relations. This conduct occasioned some disturbances in the Assembly, but the prisoners were at last condemned and executed. Collatinus finding the people prejudiced against him, partly by bearing the name of Tarquinius, and more so on account of his partial behaviour in this business, willingly resigned the consulship and retired to Lavinium.

Brutus immediately assembled the people for the election

* Dionysius Halicarnassus.

of a new consul, when Publius Valerius, a man of eminent virtue and eloquence, was chosen. The first thing they did was to grant a general amnesty to all who had followed the fortune of the Tarquins, provided they returned to the city within twenty days. This wise precaution deprived the banished king of a great number of friends and soldiers, and brought back to Rome many persons of distinguished abilities.

Tarquin, still hoping to obtain by force what he could not get by stratagem, engaged the Heturians in his cause, and advanced with a considerable army to Rome. The consuls, on their side, marched to oppose his designs. Aruns, son of Tarquin, and the consul Brutus first engaged in single combat, and were both slain. The Roman army proved victorious, and upwards of eleven thousand Heturians were killed, and five thousand taken prisoners. The body of Brutus was brought to Rome with great magnificence. All the senate went out to meet it, and a funeral oration was made by Valerius in the forum. The highest honours were also paid to the memory of this famous Roman, who was regarded as the *Father of his Country*; and the Roman ladies, contrary to the usual custom, mourned a whole year for him. From this æra liberty begins to dawn, and the aristocracy, by degrees, to change into a republic.

Valerius, being now sole governor of Rome, deferred the election of another Consul, that he might more easily settle the affairs of the commonwealth. He was, however, suspected of aspiring to the crown. In order, therefore, to ingratiate himself with the people, he made several laws in their favour; and, among others, that famous one, by which every citizen was allowed to appeal from the *decisions of the senate* and consuls to the *assembly of the people*. He gave relief to the poorer citizens, by exempting them from the payment of tribute. He established quæstors or treasurers, who were to carry public money, and appointed the temple of Saturn for their ærarium or treasury. Besides these public concerns, Valerius levelled his own house to the ground lest it should give umbrage to the people, by its situation on a hill which commanded the city. Thus, by a courteous behaviour, he obtained the name of Publicola.

After this settlement of the affairs of the commonwealth, Lucretius, father of Lucretia, was chosen his colleague, who died a few days after his election; and Marcus Horatius succeeded to the dignity of consul. The new consuls revived the census and lustrum; and, on that occasion, found one

hundred and thirty thousand men at Rome, besides widows and orphans *.

In the second year of the consulship of Publicola, Tarquin engaged Porfenna, king of Clusium, to espouse his cause. This prince advanced to the very banks of the Tiber, at the head of a prodigious multitude of troops. He took the fort Janiculum, and obliged the Romans to retire over the bridge into the city, whither he would have followed them, had not the brave Horatius Cocles, with only two more, withstood the efforts of the whole army in a narrow pass, till the bridge was broken down. When only a few planks remained, Horatius prevailed on his companions to cross the river upon them, whilst he alone sustained the attack of the enemy. At length, being wounded in the thigh, upon a signal given him that the bridge was quite demolished, he leaped into the river, and gained the opposite bank, amidst a shower of darts. Thus, by the wonderful bravery of one man, the city and republic were saved from impending ruin. The Romans were so sensible of it, that they erected a statue of brass for him in the temple of Vulcan, and the senate gave him as much land as a plough could inclose in a circular furrow in one day.

The enemy being masters of the country on both sides the river, Rome was reduced to great straits by famine. Porfenna having taken notice of it, sent the Romans word, that he would deliver them from their distress, if they would receive their old master. But their answer was, "That hunger was a less evil than slavery and oppression †."

The siege had lasted a long time, and Rome was almost wearied out, when Mucius Codrus, a young Roman of illustrious birth, formed a design, which he communicated to the consuls and senators, and of which they approved. He crossed the Tiber, entered the enemy's camp in the disguise of an Etrurian, and made his way quite to the king's tent. Porfenna's secretary, magnificently dressed, was sitting on the same tribunal with the king. Mucius, mistaking him for the king, leaped upon the tribunal, and with one stroke of a poniard, which he had concealed under his garment, laid him dead at Porfenna's feet. Every one stood amazed at the daring boldness of this action. Mucius was seized. "Thou execrable assassin," said the king, "who art thou? Whence comest thou? Who are thy accomplices?" Mucius, less terrified than his judge, replied, "I am a Roman, and my name is Mucius Codrus. My design was to deliver Rome

* Dionysius Halicarnassus.

† Ibid.

"from her most cruel enemy. Discharge therefore all your fury upon me. You have seen my courage, now try my constancy with tortures; and you will be forced to confess, that Roman bravery has made me capable of attempting whatever man can do, and of suffering what human nature can endure." So saying, with a steady countenance, and a look which spoke his inward rage at having missed his blow, he thrust his right hand into a pan of burning coals, and there held it a great while, without discovering the least symptom of pain. He farther said, that there were 300 Romans, as resolute as himself, concealed in the Hettrurian camp, who had all sworn to take away his life. Porfenna's resentment was changed into amazement. He granted him his life and liberty, and even restored him the dagger with which he had intended to stab him. Mucius, having now lost the use of his right hand, took it with his left; and from that time he was called Scævola, that is, *left-handed* *.

Porfenna, struck with admiration, at the courage of the Romans, and at the same time, disgusted at the wickedness of the Tarquins, renounced his alliance with that tyrannical family, made a peace with Rome, and returned to Clusium; generously leaving the Romans, whose distress he knew, but whom he feared to offend by relieving them in a direct manner, his camp, and all the provisions in it, as a token of his respect and friendship for them. The senate, in return for this noble behaviour, erected a statue to him, and sent him an embassy with a throne adorned with ivory, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe †.

Thus ended the Hettrurian war, five years after the expulsion of Tarquin, who complained that Porfenna had promised him assistance, but had now deserted him.

After the departure of Porfenna, the Romans rewarded those, who had distinguished themselves during the siege, especially Mucius Scævola, to whom they gave a large piece of ground belonging to the public.

The Sabines soon after made an incursion into the Roman territories, but were repulsed with great loss, by the consul Marcus Valerius, brother to Publicola, who was honoured with a triumph. The year after Publicola was made consul a fourth time, when the whole nation of the Sabines entered into a league with the Latins or Hettrurians against Rome. Aſtius Clausus, the most considerable man in Sabinia, for riches, valour, and eloquence, opposed the design of his countrymen as long as he could; but finding them absolutely

* Livy.

† Dionysius Halicarnassus.

determined to commence hostilities, he came over to the Romans with five thousand families of his friends and dependants.

On his arrival at Rome, he changed his name to Appius Claudius, was immediately declared a patrician, and took his place in the senate. Twenty-five acres of land were given him, and a quarter in the city was assigned for his friends and followers, to each of whom were granted two acres of ground, with all the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. These donations were made irrevocable, by a decree of the senate, confirmed by the people. The *Claudii* became afterwards one of the most illustrious families of Rome*.

The Sabines, highly incensed at the departure of Claudius, took the field with a considerable army; but were again defeated by the Romans. The soldiers, on this victory, obtained great plunder, and a second triumph was granted to Publicola. This consul died soon after, and was buried at the public expence, not leaving money enough to defray the charges of his funeral. The Romans erected a tomb for him near the forum, and gave his family a right of interment in the same place. He was the most virtuous citizen, the greatest general, and the best affected consul to the people, that Rome ever saw. He had always led a frugal life, and taken more care to transmit his virtues to his children, than to enrich them with the goods of fortune. As Publicola had been one of those who stood up in defence of the chastity of the Roman women, they mourned a whole year for him, as they had done before for Brutus.

In the consulship of Posthumius and Menenius, the Sabines again marched an army to the walls of Rome. Posthumius falling into an ambuscade, his colleague hastened to his assistance, and thus united, they obtained a compleat victory. The senate decreed a full triumph to Menenius; but Posthumius, by reason of his ill success at the beginning had an inferior honour, or triumph paid to him. This the Romans called an *ovation* from *ovis* a sheep, which was usually sacrificed on the smaller triumph, as an ox was on the greater or full triumph.

As frequent mention is made of triumphs in the Roman history, it may be proper to distinguish these two national honours. The person who received the lesser triumph, marched generally on foot, wearing only a garland or crown

* Livy.

of myrtle, with the *pretexta*, or usual habit of the magistrates, and was attended by the senate only.

The greater triumph was conducted with the utmost state and magnificence of the citizens. Whenever a general demanded a triumph, he was obliged to resign his command of the army, and to keep at a distance from Rome, till the honour had been granted or refused him. He always wrote to the senate a detail of his conquests; and, if allowed of, a triumph was decreed; the general, on the day appointed, crowned with laurels, made a speech to the people; after which the senators, preceded by the lower degree of officers, began the march. The spoils taken from the enemy followed; and the conquered cities and nations were represented in gold, silver, and other metal, with the names of the places which the conqueror had subjected to the Roman empire. The priests assisted on this occasion, and led the oxen destined for the sacrifice, dressed with ribbands and garlands. These were followed by chariots, whereon lay the crowns, and other ensigns of honour, which the provinces presented to the conqueror to adorn his triumph. The captive monarchs and generals, in gold or silver chains, made part of the procession; then followed the officers of the army, with the crowns or keys of the conquered cities. After this, preceded by his relations and friends, came the conqueror crowned with laurel, and seated on an ivory chariot, with an ivory sceptre, and an eagle of gold in his hand. An officer usually stood behind him; and, lest he should be too much elated with this splendor, cried aloud, *Remember that thou art a man.* Before and after his chariot were carried perfumes, and every kind of musical instrument. The march was closed by the generals, and other officers of the army. The Roman Legions sung congratulatory songs in honour of the conqueror. The procession began without the walls of Rome, by the triumphal gate, and passed through the city, under many arches, erected and adorned in honour of the triumph to the Capitol. Here the conqueror offered a crown, and the *Spolia Opima* to Jupiter; then a sacrifice was made to the God, and the conqueror was reconducted with the like state to his palace.

Tarquin, ever restless, again prevailed on the Latins to espouse his cause, who found means to foment tumults within the walls of the city. Many of the poorer citizens and discontented slaves engaged in the conspiracy, but it was discovered by Sulpicius one of the consuls, who put the citizens to the sword in the forum, and condemned the slaves to be whipt with rods, and crucified.

Notwithstanding these fruitless attempts, Tarquin, assisted by his son-in-law Manilius Octavius, entered into a general league with the people of Latium, and twenty-four cities declared war against the Romans. They had well-nigh succeeded in their design, by the critical situation of the Roman people, who could procure no auxiliaries from abroad, and were but ill supported at home.

CHAPTER XXIV,

Of the Dictator.—The Tribunes of the People.

THE dissensions about debts were a frequent source of agitation and disorder in the Roman state. Ancient practice permitted the creditor to seize the person of the insolvent debtor, to employ him in the *meanest drudgery*, to load him with *chains*, and to retain him in slavery. This complication of misery and ignominy excited the murmurs of the poor; and when the consuls came to raise the levies, the people refused to enrol their names for the war. The senate endeavoured to suspend the dissensions; but the people persisted in their refusal to enlist, until they had obtained an abolition of debts. Meanwhile the enemy approached to the gates of Rome. The consuls could not interpose their authority to enforce obedience; because, since the Valerian law had passed, every citizen condemned by a magistrate had a right of appealing to the people.

To elude this law, and save the commonwealth, the senate had recourse to a temporary expedient, which, in extraordinary situations, became afterwards a standing practice. The consuls proposed to resign their authority, and to nominate a *single magistrate*, who should be invested with absolute power, and from whom there should be no appeal. To this the Plebeians consented, willing to give up their own power, for the sake of abridging that of the senate. This supreme magistrate was named *Dictator*, and his office was to continue no longer than six months. Lartius Flavius, one of the consuls, was appointed to this high office. The creation of a dictator frequently saved Rome; proved a remedy for the natural defects of a republican state, corrected its tardy motions, and gave it all the activity of monarchical, or even despotical government,

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The new Dictator, having soon appeased the clamours of the multitude, prevailed on the Latins to suspend the war, when a truce was agreed on for a year. He conducted himself with great dignity and wisdom, and resigned the dictatorial office before the end of six months.

The late truce being expired, the Latins, by the instigation of Tarquin, and his sons, again prepared for war, and appeared on the frontiers of the republic with an army of forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The main body was commanded by Titus; his brother Sextus commanded the left; and Manilius, son-in-law to Tarquin, the right. The Romans, upon this, appointed Posthumius, one of their consuls, dictator, who advanced with all speed to oppose this formidable army of the enemy, with a body of twenty-four thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The battle was fought near the lake Regillus about fourteen miles from Rome; and both sides behaved with great resolution and courage. At last, however, the victory fell to the Romans, and the army of the Latins was entirely routed. The two sons of Tarquin, and Manilius his son-in-law, were among the slain. Upon this bad success of their army, the enemy, in the most submissive manner, sued for peace, and laid the blame of their late behaviour on the nobles. This was the last war made in favour of Tarquin, who now, abandoned by all the neighbouring states, withdrew himself into Campania, and died at Cuma, in the ninetyeth year of his age.

While Tarquin was alive, the senate saw the necessity of governing the people with some moderation, as in the hour of oppression they might recal their ancient king to the throne. But, as soon as they were delivered from this terror, they made a wanton use of their authority, and carried into rigorous execution the odious law concerning debts. The people had frequently made their complaints and remonstrances; and, trusting to the faith of the senate, had been often deceived.

There is a certain *point*, beyond which mankind will not bear *oppression*. Deceived so often, the people had taken the last resolution. They threatened to abandon the city; and, under the pressure of the moment, the violent pointed to the sword. The army deserted secretly under the conduct of Sicinius Bellulus, and withdrew to a hill on the banks of the river Anio. Numbers followed them; and, although the gates of Rome were shut, by orders from the senate, the inhabitants scaled the walls in the dead hour of the night; and,

in the morning, the Patricians saw, afar from the deserted city, the sacred mountain covered with the Roman people.

The senate was filled with consternation. What astonished them still more, was the order and discipline of the new camp. They beheld no tumult nor violence, but a moderation which announced a well-concerted enterprise. Ten persons of the greatest dignity and popularity in the senate were invested with plenary power to treat with the people. Menenius the consul, among other discourse, related to them the following fable: "Once upon a time, the members of the human body, observing that the belly did not toil as they did, rebelled and refused the aliments necessary for its support. Upon this, the members grew weak in proportion as the belly became infirm, and soon found the need they had of it; because the belly first received the nourishment, and afterwards communicated it to the members." Thus, says he, "as the senate and people form but one and the same body, that will be destroyed by divisions, and supported by concord."

The multitude were so pleased with this story, and the just application made of it to them by Menenius, that they were much disposed to treat with the deputies.

An immediate assent was given to the abolition of debts. Instructed by the past, the people required security for the future, and demanded magistrates of their own, to guard their rights, and oppose the decrees which might be hostile to their interests. They obtained them; and the tribunes of the people were created.

These new magistrates were chosen annually by the people, from their own body. Five in number at the beginning, they were afterwards augmented to ten. Their doors stood open night and day, to receive complaints. Seats were placed for them at the gates of the senate-house, and they were called in to confirm or annul the decrees of the senate. They demanded two inferior magistrates, to aid them in their functions, and the *Ædiles* were chosen, whose business it was to superintend the public buildings, to regulate the weights and measures, and to see that the corn was not hoarded up, or the markets forestalled.

From this period the Plebeians became an order in the republic.

The leaders of the sedition would not allow the people to separate, before they had elected the new magistrates, Lucius Junius and Sicinius Bellulus, were chosen; who immediately named themselves three colleagues. A law was also passed
before

before they left the camp, whereby the persons of the tribunes were declared sacred; and to make this law perpetual, all the Romans were obliged to swear, for themselves and their posterity, that they would inviolably observe it. After these regulations, the people erected an altar to *Jupiter the Terrible*, and having consecrated the place of their retreat, which, from this time, was called the *sacred Mount*, they followed the deputies of the senate, and returned to the city.

C H A P. XXV.

Of the Banishment of Coriolanus, who goes over to the Volsci.

THE Romans being at war with the Volsci, the commons now readily enlisted themselves, under the consul Posthumius; and Corioli, the metropolis of that nation, was besieged by Lartius. The besieged made a strong sally, and the Romans were driven back to their trenches. On this success of the enemy, Caius Marcus, a valiant patrician, withstood the enemy's whole force, and drove them back into the town. He followed them so close, that he entered the gates with them, and let the Roman army into the city, and took it. The Volsci were so terrified at this heroic action, that they sued for a peace; and Caius Marcus had the surname of Coriolanus given him, for his noble conduct.

About this time, the neglect of agriculture was the cause of a great commotion at Rome. They sent to Sicily and other parts of Italy to buy grain; but the common people grew turbulent, and laid the blame of this scarcity upon the Patricians. On the arrival of corn from Syracuse, disputes arose between the patricians and tribunes, about the distribution of it to the public.

Coriolanus, incensed at the behaviour of the commons, advised the senators "to keep up the price of the corn, and deliver it out sparingly, and not to give encouragement to the insolence of the tribunes and the rabble, but wholly to suppress the tribuneship, as the only way to remedy the disorders of the state." This unguarded behaviour of Coriolanus gave great offence, and the multitude were ready to fall upon the whole senate; but they were restrained by the tribunes, who laid the blame on Coriolanus only:
they

they sent for the *Ædiles* to apprehend him, and bring him before the people, but the officers were repulsed by the young *Patricians*, who were gathered round *Coriolanus*. On this commotion, the whole city was in a tumult, and the tribunes summoned *Coriolanus* to appear before the people. The senate and patricians took the part of *Coriolanus*, and he refused at first to obey the summons; but a day was fixed for his trial, when, notwithstanding all his public services, he was condemned to perpetual banishment, by a majority of the tribunes.

The illustrious exile retired to his own house, in the neighbourhood of Rome, and there spent a few days in considering what he should do. Thirst of revenge prevailed; and he determined to go over to the *Volsci*, a little republic, then governed by their general *Attius Tullus*, whom he had often encountered, and always conquered, in the late wars between them and the Romans*. *Coriolanus* thought he could not trust his life more safely than with a brave man, who, like himself, would be glad to humble the pride of the Romans. His resolution being taken, he left his retreat in disguise, and, in the evening, entering *Antium*, the chief city of the *Volsci*, he went directly to *Tullus's* house, with his face covered, and sat down by the hearth of the domestic gods, a place sacred in all the houses of the ancient Pagans. *Tullus* was at supper in an inner apartment, when word was brought him, that a stranger, of a very majestic air, was, without speaking to anybody, come into his house, and had placed himself by the hearth of his lares. *Tullus* immediately came out, and asked him who he was, and what he wanted. *Coriolanus* then discovering himself; "If thou dost not know me," said he, "I am *Caius Marcus*; my surname is *Coriolanus*, the only reward left me for my services. I am banished from Rome by the hatred of the people, and the pusillanimity of the great. I seek revenge. It lies in your power to employ my sword against my foes and those of your country. If your republic will not accept my services, I give my life into your hands. Put an end to an old enemy, who may else come to do more mischiefs to your country." *Tullus*, amazed at the greatness of his soul, gave him his hand. "Fear nothing, *Marcus*," said he, "thy confidence is the pledge of thy security. By bringing us thyself, thou givest us more than ever thou tookest from us; and we shall take care to acknowledge thy services

* *Dionysius Halicarnassus.*

"better

"better than thy fellow citizens have done." He then led him into his apartment, where they conferred about the means of renewing the war.

A pretence was soon found to break the yet unexpired truce between the two nations. The Volsci sent ambassadors to Rome, to demand the restoration of the land and cities taken from them in the late war, which, as they expected, was refused. Upon this, they appointed Tullus and Coriolanus to command their troops; and to bind the latter more strictly to them, conferred on him the dignity of a senator. The two generals immediately raised a numerous army, which they divided into two bodies. Tullus, with the one, staid in the country, to defend it on the side of Latium; whilst Coriolanus, with the other, entered the territory of the Romans before the consuls had taken any measures to oppose him; made himself master of several of their cities; destroyed their houses, and laid waste their lands; politically sparing only those of the Patricians. So great was the success of this banished general, that he soon encamped within five miles of Rome. In the city there was nothing but confusion, and the utmost despair. The Patricians upbraided the Plebeians with ingratitude, and the latter charged the former with treachery, saying, that it was by their persuasion that he invaded the country. In this perplexity the tribunes sent ambassadors to Coriolanus, with an offer to repeal his banishment, and that all his demands should be granted; but he received and dismissed the ambassadors with the sternness and resolution of an injured person, and drew his army nearer to Rome. They then deputed the pontifices, augurs, and all the ministers of the gods to go to him in a solemn procession, and humbly intreat for an accommodation. Not moved, however, by all this pomp and ceremony, he insisted, that all the territories taken from the Volsci should be restored, otherwise they must expect the utmost severity of war. His resentment was now carried to the utmost, and ready to be executed on the city, when Vetruria, his mother, Volumnia, his wife, with his children in her arms, accompanied by a great number of Roman ladies, of the first families, went out to meet him, and intercede for their country. The approach of this illustrious train, seconded by the rhetoric and endearments of his mother and wife, at last prevailed over his great spirit, and yielding to their tears and pressing solicitations, he said aloud, "Ah! my mother, you disarm me, Rome is saved, but your son is lost;" well foreseeing that the Volsci would never forgive the regard he was going to pay to her entreaties. He then

then took her in private with his wife, and agreed with them that he would endeavour to obtain the consent of the principal officers of his army, for raising the blockade; that he would use his utmost endeavours to bring the Volsci to terms of accommodation; and that if he could not prevail, he would lay down his command, and retire to some neutral city.

The next day he called a council of war, and often represented to them the difficulty of forming the siege of a city which had a formidable army for its garrison, and in which there were as many soldiers as there were inhabitants, and concluded for a retreat. Nobody contradicted his opinion. The army immediately began its march; and the Volsci, more affected with the filial respect he had shewn his mother, than with their own interest, retired back to their native country, where Coriolanus, divided all the spoil among them, without reserving any thing for himself.

Tullus, the Volscian general, had no share in the honours of this campaign, and envious of Coriolanus's glory, represented this act to the Volsci as the highest treason against the state, and Coriolanus in an assembly of the people was assassinated. The Volscians buried him with every military honour, as a great general and warrior, and the Roman women were admitted to mourn for him ten months.

The retreat of Coriolanus raised the Romans from the lowest state of despondency; great rejoicings were made at Rome, and the senate erected a temple to the *Fortune of Women* *, on the spot where the mother had so happily prevailed on the son. Into this temple none but matrons were permitted to enter, and offer sacrifice to the goddess.

* *Mulebri Fortunæ.*

C H A P. XXVI.

The Agrarian Law—Decemvirs—Tyranny of Appius—Death of Virginia—Abolition of the Decemvirate—Fate of the Decemvirs.

UPON the settlement of affairs abroad, commotions arose at home concerning the *Agrarian Law*, or division of the late conquered lands, and also the public lands, which, by the neglect of the magistrates, had been seized on by the rich. The contest between the senate and tribunes was carried to a great height. In this dispute, the consul Claudius, the younger, severely reprimanded the people for their rude and factious behaviour. The tribunes, upon this, commanded the consul to leave the assembly, and on his refusal, ordered him to be sent to prison. This bold act of the tribunes raised a general tumult, which might have been productive of the worst consequences, had it not been checked by the intreaty and mild behaviour of Quintius, the other consul. Appius, however, still opposing the *Agrarian Law*, and being likewise unsuccessful in his expedition against the Volsci, the tribunes appointed him a day of trial before the people, which he prevented by destroying himself.

The struggle for power still continued, and the tribunes now asserted, *That all the citizens ought to have equal power in the government*, and that ten men should be chosen to collect and publish the laws. Quinctius Cæso, a son of Quinctius Cincinnatus, was most forward to oppose this new demand of the tribunes. His inconsiderate heat exposed him to a prosecution by the tribunes, in consequence of which he banished himself, before the day appointed for his trial. His father, Cincinnatus, who, with ten other sureties, had been bound for his appearance, in the penalty of three thousand asses of brass, that is, about nine guineas of our money, (a vast sum among the Romans in those days), was obliged to sell the best part of his estate on that account, and retire to a cottage on the other side of the Tiber, where he cultivated, with his own hands, five or six acres of land, for the support of himself and family*.

This Quinctius Cincinnatus was afterwards thought the most proper person to appease the disorders of the govern-

* Dionysius Halicarnassus.

ment, and was, therefore, elected consul. The deputies sent by the senate to acquaint him with his promotion, found him driving his plough, and, when they saluted him by the name of consul, he was for some time doubtful, whether he should accept the high dignity. The love of his country, however, prevailing over his private satisfaction, he took leave of his wife, and, recommending to her the care of domestic affairs, "I fear," said he, "my dear Racilia, that our fields will be but ill manured this year, and we shall be in danger of want."

The Æqui and Volsci soon after revolted from their alliance with Rome, and the Roman army, under Marcus Minutius, was in great danger. The senate, being greatly alarmed, agreed to appoint a dictator. Quinctius Cincinnatus was immediately resolved upon, and again called from his retirement. When the deputies arrived with this second appointment, they found him, as before, at the plough. He departed with great concern, saying, "This year's crop must also be lost, and my poor family must be starved."

The dictator immediately put himself at the head of the armies, marched to the relief of the consul, arrived at the enemy's camp in the night, and surrounded it in such a manner, that at break of day the Æqui found themselves in the same situation that they had put Minutius. The Æqui, attacked on one side by the dictator, and on the other by the consul, submitted to Quinctius's terms, which were, that they should retire without baggage, arms, or cloaths, and every man pass under the yoke. Two javelins were accordingly fixed in the ground, and a third laid over them, and all the soldiers passed, naked and unarmed, under this kind of gate. Their generals and officers were delivered up to the Romans, and reserved to grace the dictator's triumph. He would not allow the consul's troops to have any share in the spoil; but, turning to Minutius, "As for you," said he, "you must learn the art of war in an inferior rank, before you pretend to be commander in chief." He then obliged him to lay down his office, which the modest consul was so far from resenting, that he and his troops presented the dictator with a crown of gold of a pound weight, for having saved the lives and honour of his fellow citizens. Quinctius returned to Rome, and entered the city in pompous triumph; after which he resigned the dictatorship, and retired to his little farm.

The Romans, for a long time, had no written or fixed statutes. While monarchy subsisted, the will of their kings

was instead of law. On the principles of natural equity, the decisions of the consuls and of the senate were founded. Caius Terentillus Arsa, the tribune, proposed the nomination of ten commissioners to compile a body of laws, which might limit the authority of the consuls, and secure the rights of the citizens. After various dissensions, with animosity and violence on both sides, the senate consented to the Terentian law; it was, however, stipulated, that all the legislators should be chosen out of the nobility. Deputies were sent into Greece to study the constitution of different states, and to collect the laws of Solon. On their return, ten of the principal senators were chosen to compile a body of laws, and invested with sovereign power for a year. Thus the constitution took a new form. The consuls and tribunes resigned their office and the Decemvirate was established, in the year before Christ 303.

The novelty of this form of government, with the wisdom and equity of the governors, rendered it pleasing to the people. The code of laws, written on twelve tables, was hung up to the public view. The senate approved it; and the people gave their assent with shouts of applause.

This was almost as remarkable a revolution in the government of Rome, as that from kings to consuls. They agreed among themselves, that only one of them, at a time, should have the fasces, and other consular ornaments, assemble the senate, and confirm their decrees. They went every morning, each in his turn, to their tribunal in the forum; and there distributed justice with so much impartiality, that the people, charmed with their conduct, seemed to have quite forgotten their tribunes. Appius that once severe and inflexible magistrate, was now all affability and complaisance; and from being the detestation, became the idol of the people.

A supplement to the laws being demanded, the senate agreed that new decemvirs should be appointed for the following year. Appius, a haughty Patrician, procured, by secret arts, the election to fall on himself, and on colleagues devoted to his interest. The new decemvirs became tyrants, and a plan of despotism, say the Roman historians, was concerted between Appius and his associates in office.

This behaviour of Appius and his companions was strongly opposed by his uncle Claudius, who went over to the Sabines. The example of Claudius was followed by many families, who, rather than live under this new erected tyranny, went into voluntary exile,

A violation

A violation of the rights of private life precipitated the downfall of the tyrants, and the blood of Virginia reinstated the ancient form of government. On a pretended crime, Appius ordered the daughter of Virginius, a Plebeian, then in the army, against the Æqui, to be brought before him, and with a view to debauch her, adjudged her a slave to one of his dependants. Virginius being informed of what had passed, left the camp, and stabbed his daughter, in the presence of Appius. "My daughter," said he, "this is the only way to save your liberty and your honour. Go, Virginius, go to your ancestors, whilst you are yet a free woman, pure and undefiled." He then held up the dagger to the Decemvirs, and cried aloud, "Appius, thou tyrant! with this knife I doom thee to certain death." Having uttered these words, he immediately ran through the city into the camp, and persuaded the soldiers to revolt. They all assured him they would stand by him, in whatever he should undertake against so wicked a tyrant.

The decemvirs, who commanded the army, being informed of the disposition of the soldiers, attempted to appease them. The soldiers, however, disregarding their commands, flew to their arms, snatched up their colours, and entered the city without the least disturbance. Having entrenched themselves on mount Aventine, they declared that they would not lay down their arms, till the authority was taken from the decemvirs.

As they had not yet chosen a leader, they all cried out with one voice to the deputies from the senate, who came to ask, why they had left the camp without their general's orders? "Let Valerius and Horatius be sent to us; we will return no answer to the senate but by them."

The army wished to have Virginius at their head; but he declined that honour. "My daughter," said he, "is dead, and I have not yet revenged her death. Till her manes are appeased, I can accept of no dignity. Besides, what prudent or moderate counsels can you expect from me, who am so incensed against the tyrants? I shall be of more service to the common cause, by acting as a private man."

The decemvirs, finding they could hold their power no longer, offered to resign, whenever the senate should think fit to elect new consuls; only desiring that they might not be sacrificed to the hatred of their enemies. A decree was accordingly passed, abolishing the decemvirate, and restoring the tribunes,

tribunes, when the decemvirs publicly resigned their authority in the *forum*, to the great joy of the city *.

The republic having now resumed her ancient form, the tribunes resolved to prosecute the decemvirs. They began with Appius. Virginius, in quality of tribune of the people, declared himself his accuser; and, without enumerating all his other crimes, insisted only on his behaviour to Virginia, his daughter. "If you do not instantly clear yourself from this breach of the law," said he, "I will order you to be carried to prison." Appius was silent. But when the officers of the tribunes offered to seize him, he appealed to the people, and claimed the protection of the laws just made in favour of appeals. Virginius answered, that Appius was the only person who ought not to enjoy the benefit of the laws, which he himself had violated in his decemvirate; and that such a monster ought, without mercy, to be carried to that prison which he himself had built, and insolently named *the habitation of the people of Rome*. He was conducted thither, and his trial was fixed for the third market-day; but before that came, he died in prison. Oppius, one of the plebeian decemvirs, was impeached as an accomplice with Appius, and, like him, thrown into prison, where he died the same day. The other eight decemvirs retired into voluntary banishment, when their estates were confiscated and sold for the benefit of the public. A general amnesty was then proclaimed, and the state, for a short time, enjoyed tranquillity.

C H A P. XXVII.

The military Tribunes—Censors—Siege of Veii—Triumph of Camillus—General Remarks.

INTESTINE discords, inseparable from republics, prevail most when the constitution is unfixed. The tribunes had gradually stripped the patricians of their rights; and the people, after many struggles, having obtained a principal share in the administration of government, demanded a participation of the whole. With this view two laws were

• Livy.

VOL. I.

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proposed

proposed; the first to allow the plebeians to intermarry with the patricians; the second, to admit them to the consulship. After a violent contest, in the usual form, the senate consented to the first. Determined to have the second law also passed, the tribunes, on the approach of the enemy, opposed the levies. This dispute would probably have been attended with fatal consequences, had not one of the senators, to preserve the honour of the consular dignity, proposed a medium, which was agreed to by both sides. This was, that, instead of consuls, a certain number of military tribunes should be chosen, partly out of the senate, and partly from among the plebeians; and that these new magistrates should be invested with consular power. A decree was immediately passed for this fourth revolution in the Roman government; and the *comitia* were held without delay. But when the people came to vote, they refused to give their suffrages to any but patricians; so that only three military tribunes were chosen, who, on the pretence of religion*, resigned their office in three months.

An inter-*rex* was named, that the commonwealth might not be without a chief. Titus Quinctius, on whom this dignity was conferred, assembled the people, who agreed to restore the old form of government, when Lucius Papirius Mugillanus, and Lucius Sempronius Atratinus were appointed consuls for the remaining part of the year.

For several years past, foreign wars and domestic dissensions had prevented the consuls from taking the census. To remedy an evil which might often occur, two new magistrates were chosen, under the name of *censors*, to take a survey of the numbers and estates of the people every five years. This office became, by degrees, the most important and honourable in the commonwealth. - The censors had the right of arranging the classes, and of opening or shutting the senate.

About this time†, Rome was afflicted with famine and pestilence, which carried off great part of the citizens. In this general calamity, Spurius Mælius bought up corn at foreign markets, and distributed it at a low price among the people. This generous conduct gained him great popularity; but the senate soon became alarmed, and charged him with the design of aspiring to the sovereign power. Quinctus Cincinnatus, now eighty years old, was a third time chosen dictator, and Mælius was summoned to appear before him; but he refused to submit, and was killed in the forum by Servilius,

* The Auguries were inauspicious. † A. U. 315. A. C. 448.

the dictator's general of the horse, in consequence of a law that every citizen had power to put any man to death without form of trial, provided it could be proved he aspired to the sovereign dignity.

The Fidenæ, a Roman colony, revolted at this time from their obedience to Rome, and put themselves under the protection of Tolumnius, king of the Veientes. By the instigation of this prince, they murdered the Roman Ambassadors, who were sent to enquire into the reason of this conduct. On this occasion, Mamercus Æmilius was created dictator, who obtained a great victory over the enemy. Tolumnius was slain in the battle by Cornelius Cossus, a legionary tribune, who stripped him of his armour and royal robes; which, with extraordinary pomp and ceremony, were consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius.

Some years after, the Romans invested Veii, one of the strongest places in Italy. The constancy of the Roman soldiers was never more shewn, than on this occasion; for, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, they continued the siege the whole winter, and covered themselves with the skins of beasts. This famous siege was carried on with various success for several years, during which time the Roman army was greatly annoyed by the Hetrurians, and other neighbouring nations. The power and bravery of the Veientes may be judged from their resolute defence of the capitol. At last the Romans determined to carry on the siege with the utmost vigour, and appointed Furius Camillus, a brave officer, dictator. Despairing to carry by assault a place which had a whole army for its garrison, Camillus caused a passage to be dug under ground to the very castle. At the same time, he amused the enemy by the appearance of a general attack; and whilst they stood on their defence on the walls of the city, the besiegers made themselves masters of the town. Thus was the rich and strong city of Veii taken, like a second Troy, after a siege of ten years. The booty, which was immense, was divided among the soldiers.

Camillus, transported with the honour of subduing this great rival of Rome, triumphed in a more magnificent manner than usual, and caused his chariot to be drawn by four milk-white horses. This was looked upon as a singular act of vanity in the dictator, as the Romans held the horses of that colour sacred, and peculiar only to Jupiter and the Sun.

From the perpetual opposition of the tribunes the consuls could seldom raise an army without naming a dictator. To break this dependance upon the tribunes, the senate contrived

the happy expedient of giving pay to the soldiers, in the year before Christ 405. From this period, the military operations of the Romans were conducted on a bolder scale. Formerly, their campaigns had been merely incursions, which continued only a few days, and terminated by one engagement. The senate now began to form greater enterprises; and, instead of insignificant battles, they waged decisive wars. The taking of Veii is a presage of the grandeur of the Romans. A multitude of small states and unconnected cities must necessarily yield to the formidable and continual efforts of a people always in arms; and who united policy to the enthusiasm of valour*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

*Clusium besieged, and the Romans defeated by the Gauls—
Rome abandoned by its inhabitants, and burnt by the Gauls.*

FROM the earliest periods of time, the Celts, or Gauls, overspread the western parts of Europe. The early religion of the Romans, their language, and their customs, shew that this people were among the Aborigines of Italy. Barbarous tribes are always in a state of migration. The first hostile irruption of the Gauls into Italy, which history records, was in the reign of Tarquin the elder. They spread themselves over the provinces situated between the Alps and Appenines. They had been settled in these regions for two hundred years, when they besieged Clusium, allured by the wines of Italy—a frequent motive to the wars of barbarians.

The inhabitants of Clusium demanded assistance from the Romans. The senate, unwilling to quarrel with a people who had never offended them, sent a deputation of their young patricians, of the Fabian family, to bring about an accommodation between the two nations. Being conducted to Brennus, the leader of the Gauls, they offered the mediation of Rome, and asked what injury the Clusini had done them, or what pretensions any people from a remote country could have upon Hetruria. Brennus answered in a haughty tone, "That his right lay in his sword, and "that all things "belonged to the brave." The Fabii were highly provoked at his answer; but, dissembling their resentment, they de-

* Logan.

freed leave to go into the town, under pretence of conferring with the magistrates. As soon as they were admitted, they persuaded the inhabitants to a vigorous defence, and even put themselves at the head of the besieged in a sally, in which Quintus Fabius, the chief of the ambassadors, slew, with his own hand, one of the principal officers of the Gauls. Upon this, Brennus immediately broke up the siege of Clusium, and set out for Rome, having sent an herald before him to demand, that those ambassadors, who had so manifestly violated the law of nations, should be delivered up to him. The affair was had before the senate. The wisest and most prudent thought the demand just and reasonable; but as it concerned persons of great consequence, they referred it to the assembly of the people, who, instead of condemning the three brothers, raised them to the dignity of military tribunes, at the very next election. Brennus, considering this as a high affront, hastened his march to Rome.

The six military tribunes, at the head of forty thousand men, advanced boldly against the Gauls, whose number exceeded seventy thousand. The two armies met near the river Allia, about sixty furlongs from Rome. The victory was decisive in favour of the Gauls, and the Romans, in the utmost disorder, instead of returning to Rome, fled to Veii. The next day, Brennus marched his troops into the neighbourhood of Rome, and encamped on the banks of the Anio. There his spies brought him word, that the gates of the city were open, and that not one Roman was to be seen on the ramparts. Brennus, suspecting some ambuscade, advanced very slowly, which gave the Romans an opportunity of sending into the capitol all the men who were fit to bear arms. The old men, women, and children, seeing the city quite defenceless, fled to the neighbouring towns.

Amidst this general confusion, about fourscore of the most illustrious and venerable old men, rather than flee from their native country, chose to devote themselves to death by a vow, which Fabius, the high-pontiff, pronounced in their names. The Romans believed, that by these voluntary sacrifices of themselves, disorder and confusion were brought among the enemy. To complete their sacrifice, with a solemnity becoming the magnanimity of the Romans, they dressed themselves in their pontifical, consular, and triumphal robes, according to their several ranks and stations, and repairing to the forum seated themselves there, in their curule chairs, expecting the enemy and death with the greatest fortitude *.

* Plutarch.

At length, Brennus entered the city, which appeared to him like a mere desert; and this solitude increased his perplexity. Advancing towards the forum at the head of his troops, he was struck with admiration at the unexpected sight of the venerable old men, who had devoted themselves to death. The magnificence of their habits, the majesty of their countenances, their profound silence, and unmoved behaviour at the approach of the troops, struck the Gauls with such an awful reverence, that they took them for the gods of the country, and seemed afraid to advance. One of the soldiers, however, ventured to touch the beard of Marcus Papirius, who, unaccustomed to such familiarity, gave him a blow on the head with his ivory staff. The soldier, in revenge, immediately killed him; and the others, following his example, put all the rest to the sword.

Brennus then laid siege to the capitol, but was repulsed with great loss. In order to be revenged of the Romans for their resistance, he ordered the city to be burnt, the temples and edifices to be destroyed, and the walls to be rased to the ground. Thus the famous city of Rome was entirely demolished. Nothing was to be seen in the place where it stood, but a few little hills covered with ruins.

In the dead of the night, the Gauls had contrived to take the capitol by surprise. They proceeded with such silence, that they were not discovered, either by the centinels, who were upon guard in the citadel, or even by the dogs; though these animals are usually alarmed at the least noise. But they could not escape the vigilance of the geese, a flock of which was kept in the court of the capitol, in honour of Juno. On the first approach of the Gauls, they ran up and down, cackling and beating their wings, till they wakened Manlius, a patrician of great courage, who first attacked the enemy, and, with the assistance of others, who hastened to his aid, drove the besiegers down the rock. For this heroic behaviour, Manlius was rewarded with the additional name of Capitolineus.

Camillus had retired to Ardea, a town in Latium, and moved by the calamity of his country, prevailed on the Ardeans to raise an army under his command, to oppose a party of the Gauls that were appointed to lay waste the neighbouring country. With this army he so effectually destroyed the enemy, that scarce any were left to carry the news of their defeat. This turn of fortune raised the fainting spirits of the Romans, who requested Camillus to forget all former injuries, and become their general. The senate appointed him

him dictator, and he broke off the treaty that was on foot between the Gauls and Romans, declaring that he only, as dictator, had the power of making peace. He then attacked the enemy, and so entirely routed them, that all the Roman territories, were in a short time cleared from these successful invaders. Thus was Rome, in its full glory, unexpectedly taken and reduced to the greatest extremity; and, in seven months, as unexpectedly recovered from its deplorable condition. Camillus, for the eminent services done to his country, had a noble triumph decreed him. This remarkable event happened, in the year before Christ 388.

CHAP. XXIX.

The city rebuilt.—Camillus made dictator.—Manlius condemned and thrown headlong from the Capitol.—The first Plebeian Consul.—Death and Character of Camillus.

AS great part of the citizens had withdrawn themselves from Rome, and the city was become a heap of ruins, the tribunes moved, that it should be entirely abandoned, and that the inhabitants should remove to Veii. This motion was opposed by Camillus, who represented to the people, "how dishonourable it would be to forsake the seat of their "ancestors, and to inhabit a conquered and enslaved city". Upon this, the city was ordered to be rebuilt with all diligence; and in less than twelve months, Rome rose out of its ashes, and Camillus was looked on as a second founder.

This noble Roman was now made dictator a third time, when he defeated the Æqui, the Hetrurii, and other enemies of the republic. He also recovered from the Volsci some towns they had lately taken from the Romans; for which achievements he had the honour of a third triumph.

Soon after, Manlius Capitolinus, elated with the late service he had done his country, began to raise disturbances in the city, and discovered an ambitious design on the sovereignty. He was strongly opposed by Camillus, and imprisoned by Cornelius Cossus, the dictator; but he was soon after set at liberty by the senate, for fear of the populace, who surrounded the prison day and night, and threatened to break it open. The moment he was set at liberty, he renewed his factious intrigues. His house was crowded day and night

with the mutinous, whom he harrangued without reserve, exhorting them to shake off the yoke they groaned under, to abolish the dignities of dictator and consul, to establish an exact equality among all the members of the republic, and to make themselves an head, who might govern and keep in awe the patricians as well as the people. "If you judge me worthy of that honour," said he, "the more power you give me, the sooner you will be in possession of what you have so long wished for. I desire authority with no other view, but to make you all happy." It is said, that a plot was formed to seize the citadel, and declare him king. The senate alarmed at the danger which threatened the state, ordered the military tribunes *to be watchful that the republic received no damage*; a form of words which was never used but in the greatest dangers, and which invested those magistrates with an authority almost equal to that of a dictator. After this, different means were proposed for defeating the ill designs of Manlius. Some were of opinion, that he should be assassinated. But Marcus Mænius and Quintius Publilius, two of the tribunes of the people, thought it more adviseable to take him off by the usual forms of law, and offered to prosecute him before the comitia, not doubting but the people would immediately desert him, when they saw their own tribunes become his accusers. This advice was approved, and Manlius was summoned to his trial. The crime laid to his charge, was his aiming at sovereign power. He appeared before his judges in deep mourning. But neither his own brothers, nor any of his relations changed their dress, nor solicited the judges in his behalf, as was usually done by the friends of a person accused. So much did the *love of liberty* prevail in the hearts of the Romans, over all the ties of blood and kindred. Being found guilty, he was condemned to be thrown headlong from the capitol, which he had so lately saved. His house was rased to the ground; and it was decreed, that no patrician should ever after dwell in the capitol. Thus was Rome ever jealous of her liberty, and the greatest merit could not atone for the least attempt against it.

The struggle of parties at Rome still continued. The youngest daughter of Marcus Fabius Ambustus was married to a Plebeian, and the eldest to a Patrician. The rank and honours accruing to the eldest, whose husband was a military tribune, filled the younger sister with envy; and she interested her father, her husband, and her friends, to renew the law formerly proposed, to admit the Plebeians to the highest offices in the commonwealth. The contests, in consequence

quence of this proposal, were so violent, that, for five years no supreme magistrate was chosen; and Rome was in a state of anarchy. Camillus, being called a fifth time to the dictatorship, composed the dissensions, and prevailed upon the patricians to admit a Plebeian consul into the senate.

This was brought about in the following manner. While Camillus was dispatching public affairs, the tribunes ordered that the votes of the people should be taken upon their favourite measure. The dictator opposing this attempt, they sent a lictor to arrest and conduct him to prison. Such a mark of indignity offered to a magistrate, who had been hitherto held sacred, raised a greater commotion than had yet been seen in Rome. The patricians, who stood round the dictator, boldly repulsed the lictors, while the people who stood below, with equal fury cried out, "Down with him, down with him."

In this universal uproar, Camillus was the only person that seemed unmoved. He intreated that the tribunes would give a moment's pause to their attempts. He called the senators round him, and conducting them to a neighbouring temple, he requested them to give peace to the city by their compliance. Then turning his face towards the capitol, as if to take a last farewell of all future endeavours to serve his country, he vowed to build a temple to *Concord*, in case he saw peace restored to the people. In consequence of his advice, therefore, a law was made, that one of the consuls, for the future, should be chosen from the Plebeians. Sextus, who had long been a turbulent tribune of the people, was the first Plebeian consul that was chosen.

From this epocha, all the offices in the state became common to both orders. Nobility of birth gave place to dignity of office. The patricians mixed with the people, and the Plebeians belonged to the order of the senate. This revolution, which brought the Roman republic to its perfect form, was introduced in the 454th year from the building of the city, and the 300th before the Christian æra.

The constitution was now settled, and the Romans, delivered from internal commotions, proceeded from one conquest to another. The time was approaching when their ambition was to extend its boundaries; and when the fire, struck from the collision of opposing bodies, and long compressed within a narrow sphere, was to blaze over the world.

Camillus, having spent a long life in the service of his country, and built a temple to *Concord*, according to his vow,
died

died of the plague in the 82d year of his age. He is said never to have fought a battle without gaining a complete victory; never to have besieged a city without taking it; and never to have led an army into the field, which he did not bring back loaded with glory and booty. He was a zealous patriot, and though persecuted by his ungrateful country, would never listen to his just resentments. The necessities of the public no sooner obliged the people to have recourse to him, than, forgetting the affronts he had received, he took upon him the conduct of the most difficult and laborious affairs. Though he was a patrician by descent, he was not actuated by party zeal, his love for the public being the only rule of his conduct. He favoured the Plebeians, when the interest of the public required him so to do, but without flattery or self interest. He had nothing in view, but to do every one justice, and put an end to the dissensions which weakened the republic; so that he left his country in the enjoyment of a perfect tranquillity, by means of the equality he had wisely introduced, and the just balance he had settled between all orders of men in the republic*. Rome may be said to have furnished the world with many noble patterns of probity, but none perhaps more perfect than that of the incomparable Camillus.

C H A P. XXX.

The War with the Samnites—Manlius put to death for fighting against Orders—Fabricius is sent to treat with Pyrrhus, and nobly discovers the intention of his Physician to poison him.

THE Romans having now triumphed over the Sabines, the Etrurians, the Latins, the Henrici, the Æqui, and the Volscians, began to look for greater conquests. They accordingly turned their arms against the Samnites, a people about an hundred miles east from Rome.

The Samnites were a hardy nation, descended from the Sabines, inhabiting a large tract of southern Italy, which at this day makes a considerable part of the kingdom of Naples. They were equally powerful in numbers and discipline with the Romans, and had, like them, confederated states to assist them. Two such aspiring neighbours, equally fond of arms and living by war, could not long want a pretext for rupture.

The pretended occasion was that the Samnites had oppressed the Sidicini, who, being too weak to manage the war alone, called in the Campanians to their assistance; and they also being overthrown, implored the assistance of the Romans. The consuls Valerius and Cornelius commanded the Roman armies, and gained a signal victory over the Samnites.

The war with this people and the neighbouring states was carried on for some years, when a peace was concluded which seemed so offensive to the Latins and the Campanians, that it induced them to revolt. The former carried their demands so far as to insist, that one of the consuls, and half the senate, should be chosen out of their body, before they would submit to think of peace. The Romans at first tried by gentle means to turn them from their purpose; but they insisted upon it still more resolutely, ascribing the lenity of Rome to its fears. In order therefore to chastise them, the two consuls, Manlius Torquatus, and his colleague, Decius Mus, were sent by the senate to invade their country. The Latins were not remiss in their preparations for a defence; so that the two armies met with equal animosity, and a bloody and obstinate battle ensued. In this battle, the strict discipline of the Romans, and their amazing patriotism, were displayed in a manner that has excited rather the wonder, than the admiration of posterity. As the Latins and Romans were a neighbouring people, and their habits, arms, and language, were the same, the most exact discipline was necessary, to prevent confusion in the engagement. Orders, therefore, were issued by Manlius the consul, that no soldier should leave his rank upon whatever provocation; and that he should be certainly put to death, who should venture to do otherwise. With these injunctions both armies were drawn into array, and ready to begin, when Metius, the general of the enemy's cavalry, pushed forward from his lines, and challenged any knight in the Roman army to single combat. For some time there was a general pause, no soldier offering to disobey his orders, till Titus Manlius, the consul's son, burning with shame to see the whole body of the Romans intimidated, boldly stepped forth against Metius. The soldiers on both sides, for some time, suspended the general engagement, to be spectators of this fierce encounter. The two champions drove their horses against each other with great violence. Metius wounded his adversary's horse in the neck; but Manlius, with better fortune, killed that of Metius. The Latin being thus fallen to the ground, for a while attempted to support himself upon his shield; but the Roman followed his blows

blows with so much force, that he laid him dead as he was endeavouring to rise; and then despoiling him of his armour returned in triumph to the consul, who was preparing for the engagement.

Whatever applause he might have had from his fellow-soldiers, being as yet doubtful of the reception he should find from his father, he came, with hesitation, to lay the enemy's spoils at his feet, and with a modest air insinuated, that what he did was entirely from a spirit of hereditary virtue. But he was soon made dreadfully sensible of his error, when his father, turning away, ordered him to be led publicly forth before the army. There being brought forward, the consul, with a stern countenance, and yet with tears, spoke as follows: "Titus Manlius, as thou hast regarded neither the dignity of the consulship, nor the commands of thy father; as thou hast destroyed military discipline, and set a pattern of disobedience by thy example, thou hast reduced me to the deplorable extremity of sacrificing my son, or my country. But let us not hesitate in this dreadful alternative. A thousand lives were well lost in such a cause; nor do I think that thou thyself wilt refuse to die, when thy country is to reap the advantage of thy sufferings. Go, victor, bind him, and let his death be our future example."

The whole army was struck with horror at this unnatural mandate. Fear, for a while, kept them in suspense; but, when they saw their young champion's head struck off, and his blood streaming upon the ground, they could no longer contain their execrations and their groans. His dead body was carried forth without the camp, and being adorned with the spoils of the vanquished enemy, was buried with all the pomp of military distress.

In the mean time, the battle joined with mutual fury; and as the two armies had often fought under the same leaders, they combated with all the animosity of a civil war. The Latins chiefly depended on their bodily strength, the Romans, on their invincible courage and conduct. Forces so nearly matched, seemed only to require the protection of their deities to turn the scale of victory; and, in fact, the augurs had foretold, that whatever part of the Roman army should be distressed, the commander of that part should devote himself for his country, and die as a sacrifice to the immortal gods.

Manlius commanded the right wing, and Decius led on the left. Both sides fought, for some time, with doubtful success, as their courage was equal; but by degrees, the left wing

wing of the Roman army began to give ground. It was then that Decius, who commanded there, resolved to devote himself for his country, and to offer his own life, as an atonement to save his army. Thus determined, he called out to Manlius with a loud voice, and demanded his instructions, as he was chief pontiff; how to devote himself, and the form of the words he should use. By his directions, therefore, being clothed in a long robe, his head covered, and his arms stretched forward, *standing upon a javelin*, he devoted himself to the celestial and infernal gods, for the safety of Rome. Then arming himself, and mounting on horseback, he drove furiously into the midst of the enemies, carrying terror and consternation wherever he came, till he fell covered with wounds.

In the mean time the Roman army considered his devoting himself in this manner, as an assurance of success. Nor was the superstition of the Latins less powerfully influenced by his resolution: A total rout began to ensue. The Romans pressed them on every side; and so great was the carnage that scarce a fourth part of the enemy survived the defeat. This was the last battle of any consequence, that the Latins had with the Romans. They were forced to beg a peace, and obtained it upon hard conditions.

The Samnites, too, were at last conquered, and the whole country, from Gallia Cispadana, to Apulia and Lucania, submitted to the Roman arms.

The Tarentines commenced hostilities; but, dreading the Roman power, implored the aid of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. This famous commander was of a generous and ambitious disposition. He promised assistance to the Tarentines, and passed over into Italy with an army of forty thousand horse and foot, and twenty armed elephants. He first offered to Lævinus, the Roman consul and general, to become mediator between the Romans and Tarentines; but Lævinus made answer, "That the Romans neither desired his mediation nor feared his power." He then conducted the messengers through the camp, and bade them tell their master what they had seen. The armies met on the plains of Heraclea, where a general engagement took place. Pyrrhus, behaved with great bravery and resolution. The Romans were routed; and, besides a great slaughter, eighteen thousand were taken prisoners. He then directed his march towards Rome, advanced as far as Præneste, and laid waste all before him.

Pyrrhus treated the Roman prisoners with great civility, but finding that large recruits arrived in the army, he
sent

sent Cineas, a powerful rhetorician to the senate, and offered to make a treaty with the Romans, requesting only for himself and the Tarentines, their alliance and friendship. These offers, and still more the orator's eloquence, seemed to touch the whole assembly. A general inclination seemed to prevail in favour of the king's proposal, and a peace was confidently talked of in every part of the city. This, however, was strongly opposed by Appius Claudius, an old senator, and Cineas was dismissed with an answer, intimating, that when Pyrrhus should withdraw his forces from Italy, the senate would treat with him concerning peace.

Cineas being thus frustrated in his expectations, returned to his master, extolling both the virtue and the grandeur of the Romans. "The senate," he said, "appeared a reverend assembly of demi-gods; and the city, a temple for their reception." Of this Pyrrhus soon after became sensible, by an embassy from Rome, concerning the ransom and exchange of prisoners. At the head of this venerable deputation was Fabricius, an ancient senator, who had been a pattern to his countrymen of the most extreme poverty, joined to the most cheerful content. This practical philosopher, who had been formerly consul, and was now the ambassador of Rome, had no other plate furniture in his house, than a small cup, the bottom even of which was *horn*. His daughters being without fortunes, the senate generously portioned them from the public treasury. When the Samnites had already offered him large presents, he refused them, saying, that he was already rich, as he had learned the art of lessening his wants, by restraining his appetites.

Pyrrhus received this celebrated old man with great kindness, treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and by the offer of the most valuable presents, endeavoured to dispose him to his interest. After having given a general audience to the ambassadors, he took Fabricius aside, and addressed him in the following manner.

"As for you, Fabricius, I am sensible of your merit. I am convinced that you are an excellent general, and perfectly qualified for the command of an army; that justice and temperance are united in your character, and that you justly pass for a person of consummate virtue. But I am not less certain of your poverty, and I must confess, that fortune, in this particular, has treated you with injustice, by misplacing you in the class of indigent senators. In order, therefore, to supply that deficiency, (provided you assist me to negotiate an honourable peace), I am ready to give
"you

"you as much gold and silver as will raise you above the richest citizen of Rome; being fully persuaded, that no expense can be more honourable to a prince, than that which is employed in the relief of great men, who are compelled by their poverty to lead a life unworthy of their virtue, and that this is the noblest purpose to which a king can possibly devote his treasures."

To this Fabricius made the following answer: "As to my poverty, you have, indeed, sir, been rightly informed. My whole estate consists in a house of but mean appearance, and a little spot of ground, from which, by my own labour, I draw my support. But if, by any means, you have been persuaded to think, that this poverty makes me less considered in my country, or in any degree unhappy, you are extremely deceived. I have no reason to complain of fortune; she supplies me with all that nature requires; and, if I am without superfluities, I am also free from the desire of them. With these, I confess, I should be more able to succour the necessitous, the only advantage for which the wealthy are to be envied. But, small as my possessions are, I can still contribute something to the support of the state, and the assistance of my friends.

"With regard to honours, my country places me, poor as I am, upon a level with the richest; for, Rome knows no qualifications for great employments but virtue and ability. She entrusts me with command of her armies, and confides to my care the most important negotiations. My poverty does not lessen the weight and influence of my counsels in the senate. The Roman people honour me for that very poverty which you consider as a disgrace. They know the many opportunities I have had in war to enrich myself without incurring censure. They are convinced of my disinterested zeal for their prosperity, and if I have any thing to complain of in the return they make, it is only the excess of their applause. What value, then, can I set upon your gold and silver? What king can add any thing to my fortune? Always attentive to discharge the duties incumbent on me, I have a mind free from self reproach, and I have an honest fame."

Pyrrhus amazed at the greatness of his soul, released the prisoners, upon the promise of Fabricius, that, in case the senate were determined to continue the war, he might reclaim them whenever he thought proper. As the senate, however, would hearken to no accommodation, the prisoners were soon returned, and the war was continued.

The

The armies engaged near Asculum, a city of Apulia, were it is said that the Romans were worsted. The enemy's army was also so much weakened, that Pyrrhus declared, "that if he gained such another victory, he was undone."

History relates a remarkable instance of Roman generosity in the person of Fabricius. Whilst this general was on his march against Pyrrhus, a letter was brought to him from the King's physician, importing, that for a proper reward he would take him off by poison, and thus rid the Romans from a powerful enemy, and a dangerous war. Fabricius felt at this proposal, all the honest indignation that was consistent with his former character. He sent the traitor in chains to Pyrrhus, and, in an obliging letter acquainted him, "That the Romans abhorred all treacherous practices, and conquered their enemies by the sword, not by the treason of their subjects."

Pyrrhus received the message with as much amazement at his candour, as indignation at his physician's treachery. "Admirable Fabricius!" (cried he), "it would be as easy to turn the sun from its course, as thee from the paths of honour." Then making the proper enquiry amongst his servants, and having discovered the treason, he ordered his physician to be executed. However, not to be outdone in magnanimity, he immediately sent to Rome all his prisoners without ransom. The Romans, on their side, also returned an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites. This mutual act of kindness did not, however, bring on a peace. Pyrrhus in a future battle near Beneventum, was entirely defeated by the Roman army, with the loss of thirty-three thousand men. After this defeat, Pyrrhus retired to Epirus, and soon after died at Argos, a principal city of Peloponnesus.

The victory over Pyrrhus had introduced the Roman name into the world, and kindled an ambition for distant enterprize and foreign conquest. Their own territory being insufficient for their subsistence, the Romans received supplies of corn from Sicily; and the people began to wish for the possession of a country which they regarded as the granary of Rome. The greatest part of Sicily was, at that time, possessed by the Carthaginians; a people whose annals form an important article in ancient history, and merit our attention the more, as they were the rivals of the Romans, and long contended with them for the empire of the world.

C H A P. XXXI.

Carthage.—First Naval Engagement of the Romans.—First Punic War.

THE Carthaginians were a colony from the Phœnicians, the first commercial people of antiquity. The infelicity of their soil, and their situation on the sea coast, induced them to have recourse to commerce and navigation; and they carried these arts to a high degree of perfection.

They first extended themselves along the south coast of the Mediterranean sea; and, at different times, occupied almost the whole of it, from the borders of Egypt to the Straits of Gibraltar. They planted many colonies in that country, before they founded their great establishment at Carthage. This, however, engrossed their chief attention, soon equalled, and at last surpassed the parent state.

Without contending for the commerce of the east with the parent state, they extended their navigation chiefly towards the west and north. They passed the straits of Gades, visited the coasts of Spain and of Gaul, and penetrated at last into Britain. They made settlements in many of the islands of the Mediterranean, especially in Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balears. They made considerable progress by land into the interior provinces of Africa, and sailed along the western coast of that great continent, almost to the tropic of Cancer. They discovered the Fortunate Islands, now known by the name of the Canaries, the utmost boundary of ancient navigation in the western ocean.

They had risen to such prosperity at the beginning of the third Punic war, that Carthage contained 700,000 inhabitants. In Africa, they held three hundred cities under their jurisdiction; and they possessed a tract of sea coast near two thousand miles in length, extending from the Syrtis Major to the Pillars of Hercules.

The government of Carthage partook partly of the aristocratical, and partly of the democratical form. Two annual magistrates, under the name of Suffetes, presided in the senate. All affairs of importance were transacted in this assembly; but, if the senate were not unanimous, the decision devolved on the people.

As wars were carried on at a distance from Carthage, and the armies composed of foreign troops, the power of the general

als might become formidable. As a balance to this authority, the tribunal of the Hundred was instituted, before which the generals were to give an account of their conduct.

The prætor at Carthage was invested with the greatest authority. He disposed, in some cases, of the public revenue, and extended his jurisdiction over the tribunal of the hundred.

The Carthaginians had the virtues and vices of a commercial people. Together with the mercantile character, we mark the fiery temper of Africa, and trace the cruel spirit of their Tyrian ancestors.

Syracuse, besieged by the Carthaginians, implored the aid of Pyrrhus, who was then at war with the Romans. This gallant adventurer was at first successful; but, meeting at length with a vigorous resistance, he set sail for Italy. As he embarked, turning his eyes back to Sicily, "What a noble field of battle," said he, "do we leave to the Carthaginians and the Romans!"

The first war with Carthage lasted twenty-three years, and taught the Romans the art of fighting on the sea, with which they had been hitherto unacquainted. A Carthaginian vessel was wrecked on their coast. They used it for a model, and, in three months, built one hundred and twenty ships. Still, however, they wanted sailors. The Romans being bred up to husbandry were perfectly ignorant of maritime affairs; and the neighbouring states, whom they had lately conquered, were either unwilling to embark, or not to be relied on. In this exigence, they taught their men to row upon land; instructing them in the naval manner of engaging as well as they could, and leaving it to their native valour to do the rest.

The consul Duilius was the first who ventured to sea in this new constructed armament; but he soon found that the enemy was every way superior in point of sailing, and bringing on vessels to an engagement. The indefatigable spirit of the Roman, however, was not to be subdued. He found out a remedy for the improvement of his operations, by means of a certain instrument, which, upon an impulse of two ships, kept them both grappled together, so that neither could separate till the victory was decided. By this method, a naval engagement became more like one on land; so that when the two rival fleets met, the Romans had the victory, the Carthaginians losing fifty of their ships, and the undisturbed sovereignty of the sea, which they valued more. These successes were so unexpected by the senate, that Duilius their admiral obtained a signal triumph, with orders, that
whenever

whenever he went out to supper, there should be a band of music to attend him. This victory was obtained by the Romans in the year before Christ 259.

The year after the islands of Corsica and Sardinia were subdued, and the Romans put to sea with a fleet of more than three hundred sail. They engaged the Carthaginian fleet under Hamilcar, and so entirely routed the enemy, that nothing remained for conquest but Africa itself.

Attilius Regulus was appointed pro-consul in Africa. He defeated the Carthaginian army, and took five thousand prisoners. He reduced Clypea, a famous sea port, also Tunetum, and other cities of Africa; and no peace could be obtained by the Carthaginians, from Regulus, but on the most hard conditions. The Lacedæmonians sent Greek troops to their assistance, under Xantippus, a brave and experienced general. Fortune now favoured the Carthaginians. Regulus was defeated and taken prisoner, with five hundred Romans the companions of his misfortune. The Romans also sustained great loss by sea; for on their return to Italy, the greatest part of their fleet, consisting of three hundred and fifty sail, were destroyed by a storm, and both their consuls perished. The following year, a similar misfortune befel them; when they lost one hundred and fifty ships. The Romans were so much discouraged by this repeated series of unfavourable events, that they declined farther naval engagements, and resolved, that sixty ships only should be kept at sea to guard the Italian coasts. The consul Metellus, on the other side, raised the spirits of the Romans, by a dreadful overthrow, in Sicily, of the Carthaginians under Asdrubal their general. Twenty thousand men were killed, and twenty-six elephants were taken; for this action a splendid triumph was decreed Metellus; and Asdrubal, on his return to Carthage, was condemned and executed.

The Carthaginians, wearied out with this tedious war, sent ambassadors to Rome, to make overtures of peace. Regulus had now been a prisoner in Carthage five years; and the Carthaginians engaged him to plead their cause; but they first exacted a promise from him to return to Carthage, in case the embassy proved unsuccessful. It was at the same time hinted to him, that his life depended on the success of his negotiation. On his arrival at Rome, he acquainted the senate with the motive of his journey, and at the same time used every argument to dissuade the Romans from peace, or an exchange of prisoners.

He assured the senate, that the Carthaginian resources were almost exhausted; their populace harrassed out with fatigues, and their nobles with contention; that all their best generals were prisoners with the Romans, while Carthage had none but the refuse of the Roman army: that not only the interest of Rome, but its honour also was concerned in continuing the war, for their ancestors had never made peace till they were victorious.

So unexpected an advice gave the senate no little disturbance. They saw the justice of his opinion, but they also saw the dangers he incurred by giving it. They seemed entirely satisfied of the expediency of prolonging the war; their only obstacle was how to secure the safety of him, who had advised its continuance. They pitied, as well as admired, a man who had used such eloquence against his private interest, and could not conclude upon a measure which was to terminate in his ruin. Regulus, however, soon relieved their embarrassment by breaking off the treaty, and by rising in order to return to his bonds and confinement. It was in vain that the senate and all his dearest friends entreated his stay; he still repressed their solicitations. Marcia, his wife, with her little children, filled the city with lamentations, and vainly entreated to be permitted to see him. He still obstinately persisted in keeping his promise; and though sufficiently apprised of the tortures that awaited his return, without embracing his family, or taking leave of his friends, he departed with the ambassadors for Carthage.

Nothing could equal the fury and the disappointment of the Carthaginians, when they were informed by their ambassadors that Regulus, instead of promoting a peace, had given his opinion for continuing the war. They accordingly prepared to punish his conduct with the most studied tortures. First his eyelids were cut off, and then he was remanded to prison. He was, after some days, exposed with his face opposite to the burning sun. At last, when malice was fatigued with studying all the arts of torture, he was put into a barrel stuck full of nails that pointed inwards, and in this painful position he continued till he died. By this one act only did the Carthaginians bring an eternal infamy on themselves and their country.

The Romans hearing of the horrid deed, were greatly enraged, and delivered Hamilcar the Carthaginian general, and other prisoners, to Marcia, the wife of Regulus, who shut them up in an armory filled with spikes, in order to torture them, and inflict the same punishment on them, that had been inflicted

inflicted on her husband. The magistrates, however, interfered, and they were treated with greater moderation.

The war between the two republics was now renewed, and carried on both by sea and land, with various success, till at length a peace was concluded between them, in the year before Christ 239. Sicily was made a Roman province, and the Carthaginians engaged to deliver up all their prisoners without ransom. Thus ended the first Punic war, which had lasted twenty four years, and, in some measure, had drained both nations of every resource to renew hostilities.

C H A P. XXXII.

The Second Punic War.

CARTHAGE, though corrupted, was not deficient in great men. Of all the enemies the Romans ever had to contend with, Hannibal the Carthaginian was the most inflexible and dangerous. His father Hamilcar had imbibed an extreme hatred against the Romans, and having settled the intestine troubles of his country, he took an early opportunity to inspire his son, though but nine years old, with his own sentiments. For this purpose he ordered a solemn sacrifice to be offered to Jupiter, and leading his son to the altar, asked him whether he was willing to attend him in his expedition against the Romans; the courageous boy not only consented to go, but conjured his father by the gods present, to form him to victory, and teach him the art of war. That I will joyfully do, replied Hamilcar, and with all the care of a father who loves you, if you will swear upon the altar to be an eternal enemy to the Romans. Hannibal readily complied; and the solemnity of the ceremony, and the sacredness of the oath, made such an impression upon his mind as nothing afterwards could efface. Being appointed general at twenty-five years of age, he over-ran all Spain; and, being intent on the ruin of the Roman state, he determined to carry the war into Italy. He surmounted all difficulties. He passed the Alps with an army of one hundred and forty thousand horse and foot, in the winter season; and, with a resolution almost incredible, he vanquished the Roman army under the consuls

Scipio and Sempronius. He afterwards engaged Flaminius the Roman general, at the Lake Thrasymenus. In this battle Flaminius was slain, and his army entirely defeated. Rome was in the utmost consternation on this success of the enemy; and Fabius Maximus was sent with four legions in quest of Hannibal, but constantly avoided coming to an engagement with him. This cautious conduct of Fabius* greatly distressed Hannibal, who frequently offered him battle.

The following year, the armies came to a general engagement at Cannæ, a town in Apulia. This battle was fought with prodigious fury on both sides; and Hannibal had placed his men with such art, that the Romans were not only forced to fight with wind, dust, and sun, but, on their pressing forward, they were in a short time almost surrounded. The abilities of the Punic general never appeared so much as on this occasion. His skill much more than over-matched the superior number of the Romans, of whom a most dreadful slaughter was made, till Hannibal, quite weary of it, commanded his soldiers to give over. The consul Æmilius was killed, and with him fifty thousand men. A celebrated ancient historian † informs us, that no less than seventy thousand were put to the sword; among whom were two quaestors, twenty-one tribunes, eighty of the senatorial order, and so many knights, that it is said three bushels of their rings were sent to Carthage. The enemy lost only five thousand seven hundred men.

The consternation of Rome, upon the news of this dreadful disaster, is more easy to be imagined than described. It was such, that it was thought necessary to create a dictator ‡ to preserve order in the city, and to set strict guards at the gates to keep the people from quitting it.

If Hannibal, after this victory, had marched directly to Rome, he might, in all probability, have put an end both to the war, and to the Roman state; but, as Maharbal, captain of his horse told him, *that he knew perfectly how to gain a victory, but not how to use and improve it.* His negligence that summer gave the Romans an opportunity of recovering themselves, when they were almost reduced to a despairing condition. But what proved most fatal to him, was his wintering

* Ennius compliments him thus: "Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem." † Polybius. ‡ Fabius Maximus was made Dictator.

at Capua, a wealthy and most luxurious city, which, among many others, had surrendered to him since his last victory. Here he utterly spoiled an excellent and hardened army. His men, before inured to toil and labour, were now so enervated by their immoderate use of the pleasures, and effeminacies of that place, that they could not bear fatigue, nor the strictness of the ancient military discipline. Capua proved as fatal to Hannibal's soldiers, as Cannæ had been to the Romans. From this time his fortune began to change. For, in the next campaign, against which the Romans had made all possible preparations, having even armed several thousand slaves, he was worsted by the prætor Marcellus in a sally out of Nola. He was also repulsed at Casilinum, after he had brought the place to great extremities; and, not long after, Marcellus gained a considerable advantage over him, in the neighbourhood of Nola.

At this time Caius Scipio, a tribune of the soldiers, undertook the cause of his country. This young man, being informed that some of the best families of Rome, despairing to save the commonwealth, had agreed to abandon Italy, and settle in some other place, went directly to the assembly and, with his sword drawn, swore, that if they did not lay aside that inglorious resolution, and *take an oath* not to abandon the republic in its present distress, they should all be immediately cut to pieces. These threats, added to the courage and spirit of Scipio, brought them all into engagement, and they mutually plighted their faith to each other to deliver their country, or to die in its ruins.

Asdrubal, being sent to the assistance of his brother Hannibal in Italy, was surrounded by the enemy, and killed. His whole army was entirely routed, and cut to pieces.

Scipio, the younger, recovered Spain. In Sardinia too, a battle was fought, in which twelve thousand Carthaginians were killed, and a great many taken prisoners, among whom were some of great distinction.

Marcellus besieged Syracuse by sea and land, but could not get possession of it, his efforts of every kind, being always baffled by the skill of that great mathematician Archimedes, who contrived such engines as demolished all the batteries and some of the ships of the Romans. He also made use of burning glasses, which, at the distance of some hundred yards, set the Roman ships and wooden towers on fire. At last, however, the town was taken, on a great festival, by surprise. The inhabitants were put to the sword; and among the rest, Archimedes, who was found meditating in his study,

was slain by a Roman foldier. Marcellus was not a little grieved at his death. A paffion for letters, at that time, began to prevail among the higher ranks of people at Rome. He therefore ordered his body to be honourably buried, and a tomb to be erected to his memory, which his own works have long furvived. * Syracufe was twenty-two miles in compafs, and the plunder of it immense.

The wars in Italy, during this time were attended with various fuccesfs. Tarentum was betrayed to Hannibal, but the caſtle ſtill held out. The Romans inveſted Capua, which ſoon after ſurrendered. The heads of the revolt were put to death, and the common people fold. This city, on account of the richnefs of the ſoil, was reſerved for the uſe of huſbandmen, labourers and artificers, without any ſhew of government of its own, as it formerly had.

Valerius Lævinus, one of the conſuls, for the next year, being ſent into Sicily, reduced that iſland to the Roman obedience. This was the firſt time that the Romans had been maſters of all Sicily. Marcellus alſo greatly harraſſed Hannibal's troops and repulſed him in ſeveral rencounters; at laſt, however, he was ſlain in an ambuſcade. Marcellus was called the *ſword*, and Fabius the *buckler*, of Rome.

The Romans admired the character of theſe great men, but ſaw ſomething more divine in the young Scipio. The ſuccesfs of this young hero confirmed the popular opinion, that he was of divine extraction, and held converſe with the gods. Scipio was made conſul, and ſent into Africa. The Numidians alſo ſent a powerful army under a ſecond Aſdrubal and Syphax to the aſſiſtance of the Carthaginians. Scipio ſurpriſed the camp of the enemy in the night, and by this artifice gained a complete victory. Syphax was ſoon after taken priſoner by Maſiniſſa, *king of Numidia, and carried to Rome. On this ſuccesfs of the Romans in Africa, Hannibal was called home, after he had paſſed fifteen years in that country, to the great dread and terror of the Romans. On his return, Hannibal took the command of the African army at Zama, diſtant from Carthage about five days journey. The Roman army was alſo in a neighbouring plain, and the two generals had an interview, but nothing was agreed on. Scipio charged the Carthaginians with perfidy and injuſtice; upon which both ſides prepared for battle.

The fate of Rome and Carthage was now to be decided. Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we regard the generals, the armies, the two ſtates that contended, or the empire that was in diſpute. The diſpoſition Hannibal

* Hooke.

made of his men is said, by the skilful in the art of war, to be superior to any even of his former arrangements. He encouraged the various nations of his army, by the different motives which led them to the field; to the mercenaries, he promised a discharge of their arrears, and double pay with plunder in case of victory; the Gauls he inspired, by aggravating their natural hatred to the Romans; the Numidians, by representing the cruelty of their new king; and the Carthaginians, by reminding them of their country, their glory, the danger of servitude, and their desire of freedom.

Scipio, on the other hand, with a chearful countenance, desired his legions to rejoice, for that their labours and their dangers were now near at an end; that the gods had given Carthage into their hands; and that they should soon return triumphant to their friends, their wives, and their children. The battle began with the elephants on the side of the Carthaginians; these animals being terrified at the cries of the Romans, and wounded by the slingers and archers, turned upon their drivers, and caused much confusion in both wings of their army, in which the cavalry was placed. Being thus deprived of the assistance of the horse, in which their greatest strength consisted, the heavy infantry joined on both sides. The Romans were more vigorous and powerful in the shock, the Carthaginians more active and ready. However, they were unable to withstand the continued pressure of the Roman shields, but at first gave way a little, and this soon brought on a general flight. The rear guard who had orders from Hannibal to oppose those who fled, now began to attack their own forces; so that the body of the infantry sustained a double encounter, of those who caused their flight, and those who endeavoured to prevent it. At length the general finding it impossible to reduce them to order, directed that they should fall behind, while he brought up his fresh forces to oppose the pursuers. Scipio, upon this immediately sounded a retreat, in order to bring up his men a second time in good order. And now the combat began afresh, between the flower of both armies. The Carthaginians, however, having been deprived of the succour of their elephants, and their horse, and their enemies being stronger of body were obliged to give ground. In the mean time, Mafinissa, who had been in pursuit of their cavalry, returning and attacking them in the rear, completed their defeat. A total rout ensued; twenty thousand men were killed in the battle or the pursuit, and as many were taken prisoners. Hannibal, who had done all that a great general, and an undaunted soldier could perform,

form, fled with a small body of horse to Adrumetum, fortune seeming to delight in rendering ineffectual his ability, his valour, and experience.

This victory brought on a peace. The Carthaginians, by Hannibal's advice, offered conditions to the Romans, which they dictated not as rivals, but as sovereigns. By this treaty, the Carthaginians were obliged to quit Spain, and all the islands of the Mediterranean sea. They were bound to pay ten thousand talents in fifty years; to give hostages for the delivery of their ships and their elephants; to restore Masinissa all the territories that had been taken from him, and not to make war in Africa, but by the permission of the Romans. Thus ended the second Punic war, seventeen years after it had begun. Carthage still continued an empire, but without power to defend its possessions, and only waiting the pleasure of the conqueror, when they should think proper to put a period to its continuance. After the depression of this mighty dominion, the Romans were seldom engaged, except in petty wars, and while they obtained great victories; whereas before, they had obtained but trifling advantages, and were engaged in dangerous wars.

C H A P. XXXIII,

The Third Punic War, which terminated in the Destruction of Carthage.

THE ambition of the Romans now exceeded all bounds. Elated with success, they aspired at the conquest of the world. War was declared against Philip II. king of Macedon, who was defeated by Flaminius, and subjected to the payment of tribute. By the subjection of Macedon, the Romans had an opportunity of shewing their generosity. They ordered freedom, and a liberty to live according to their own laws and institutions, to be proclaimed to all the states of Greece, that had been subjected to the dominion of the kings of Macedon.

Antiochus, king of Syria, was next brought to bow to the Roman eagles, though aided by Hannibal the avowed enemy of Rome. Peace was granted to Antiochus, on condition that he should pay fifteen thousand talents for the expence of the war, and give up all the countries on this side Mount
Taurus

Taurus in Greece. The fate of the two generals, Hannibal and Scipio, was soon after determined. Scipio, was charged with taking money of Antiochus for the peace he lately made with him, and retired to Liternum in Campania, where he died, exclaiming in severe terms against his ungrateful country. His great rival Hannibal was demanded of Prusias, king of Bithynia, by the Roman ambassadors. Prusias was under the necessity of obeying; and Hannibal, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies, poisoned himself.

The war of Syria forms an important æra in the Roman history. From this period the ancient Roman character began to decline. The age of simplicity, frugality, and illustrious poverty, was past. A severe people began to change their manners. The victorious nation at once adopted the vices of the vanquished; the spoils of the East introduced a taste for luxury; and, as frequently has happened in history, Asia corrupted Europe.

The evils that follow in the train of luxury began now to be felt. The wealth of the world had flowed into Rome; but it centered in a few hands. Individuals at the head of armies, or in the government of Provinces, had amassed riches; but an immense populace were in poverty. The splendor of foreign conquest could not conceal their domestic misery. From this mixture of private opulence, and public wretchedness, disorders daily increased, and new troubles afterwards arose that threatened a revolution to the republic.

In the year before Christ 166, a final period was put to the Macedonian empire, by Paulus Æmilius, in the eleventh year of Perseus, son of Philip. In an engagement at Pydna, Æmilius entirely defeated the army of the enemy, and besides many thousand prisoners, acquired an immense treasure.

The most exquisite statues, paintings, and other noble works of Greece, were sent to Rome. These graced the triumph of Æmilius; and a judicious historian observes, "that Rome was now the most magnificent spot in the world."

In these conquests, however, the Romans still allowed the ancient inhabitants to possess their territory. They did not even change the form of government. The conquered nations became the allies of the Roman people; but this denomination, under a specious name, concealed a condition very *servile*, and inferred that they should submit to whatever was required of them.

* Father Catron.

Carthage

Carthage still continued the main object of Roman jealousy. A disagreement between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, about the limits of their territories, furnished a fresh pretence of quarrel. The decision was referred to the Romans, who obliged the Carthaginians to give up to Masinissa the country in dispute. This gave rise to the third Punic war.

Carthage was now a state that only subsisted by the mercy of the conquerors, and was to fall at the slightest breath of their indignation. Cato the censor, for some time past never spoke in the senate upon public business, but he ended his speech by inculcating the necessity of its destruction *. His opinion prevailed. It was therefore declared in the senate, that *Carthage must be destroyed*; and both the Consuls were sent with orders to this purpose.

The Carthaginians, affrighted at the preparations of the Romans, immediately condemned those who had broken the league, and humbly offered any reasonable satisfaction. To these submissions, the senate only returned an evasive answer, demanding three hundred hostages within thirty days, as a security for their future conduct. The hostages were sent within the limited time; and on the arrival of the consuls at Utica, the Carthaginians sent deputies to wait upon them, in order to know their pleasure. The consul Censorinus demanded all their arms, which were immediately delivered up. They then, with tears and all possible submission, begged for mercy, and desired to know their last doom. The consuls told them, that they were commanded to leave their city, which they had orders to level with the ground; and that they had permission to build another in any part of their territories, within ten miles of the sea.

This severe command they received with all the concern and distress of a despairing people. They implored for a respite from such a hard sentence. They used tears and lamentations. But finding the consuls inexorable, they departed with a gloomy resolution, prepared to suffer the utmost extremities, and to fight to the last for their seat of empire, and their ancient habitations.

Upon returning home, and devulging the ill success of their commission, a general spirit of resistance seemed to inspire the whole people. They, now too late, began to see the danger of riches in a state, when it had no longer power to defend them. Those vessels, therefore, of gold and silver, which

* Delenda est Carthago.

their luxury had taken such pride in, were converted into arms, as they had given up their iron, which was, in their present circumstances, the most precious metal. The women parted also with their ornaments, and even cut off their hair, to be converted into strings for the bowmen.

Asdrubal, who had been lately condemned for opposing the Romans, was now taken from prison to head their army; and such preparations were made, that, when the consuls came before the city, which they expected to find an easy conquest, they met with such resistance, as quite dispirited their forces, and shook their resolution. Several engagements were fought before the walls with disadvantage to the assailants, so that the siege would have been discontinued had not Scipio Æmilianus, the adopted son of Africanus, who was appointed to command it, used as much skill to save his forces after a defeat, as to inspire them with hopes of victory. But all his arts would have failed, had he not found means to seduce Pharnes, the master of the Carthaginian horse, who came over to his side. He from that time went on successfully; that part of Carthage called Megara was the first that was taken, while the inhabitants were driven into the citadel. He then secured the isthmus that led into the city, and thus cut off all supplies of provisions from the country. He next blocked up the haven; but the besieged, with incredible industry, cut out a new passage into the sea, whereby, at certain times, they could receive necessaries from the army without. That army, therefore, was to be subdued, ere the city could be thoroughly invested.

With this view, Scipio set upon them in the beginning of the ensuing winter, killed seventy thousand of their men, and took ten thousand prisoners of war. The unhappy townsmen, now bereft of all external succour, resolved upon every extremity, rather than submit. But they soon saw the enemy make nearer approaches. The wall which led to the haven was quickly demolished. Soon after, the forum was taken, which offered the conquerors a deplorable spectacle of houses nodding to the fall, heaps of men lying dead, hundreds of the wounded struggling to emerge from the carnage around them, and deploring their own and their country's ruin. The citadel soon after surrendered at discretion. All now but the temple was subdued, which was defended by deserters from the Roman army, and those who had been most forward to undertake the war. These, however, expecting no mercy, and finding their condition desperate, set fire to the building, and voluntarily perished in the flames. Asdrubal the Carthaginian

ginian general, delivered himself up to the Romans when the citadel was taken; but his wife and two children rushed into the temple while on fire, and expired with their country. Then was this magnificent city laid in ashes by the merciless conquerors; and so extensive was it, being twenty-four miles in compass, that the burning continued for seventeen successive days. The senate of Rome ordered that no part of it should be rebuilt. It was demolished to the ground; so that travellers are unable, at this day, to say with certainty where Carthage stood.

All the cities which assisted Carthage in this war were ordered to share the same fate, and the lands belonging to them were given to the friends of the Romans. The other towns of Africa became tributary to Rome, and were governed by an annual prætor; while the numberless captives that were taken in the course of this war were sold as slaves, except some few, that were adjudged to die by the hands of the executioner. This was the end of one of the most renowned cities in the world, for arts, opulence, and extent of dominion*. It had rivalled Rome for above an hundred years, and, at one time, was thought to have the superiority. But all the grandeur of Carthage was founded on commerce alone, which is ever fluctuating, and, at best, serves to dress up a nation, to invite the conqueror, and only to adorn the victim for its destruction†.

The same year, Corinth was reduced to ashes, and Greece became a Roman province under the title of Achaia. They then subdued Lusitania, now Portugal; and after that, the Numantines, the chief people of Spain. In the space of one century, the Romans extended their conquests over the three divisions of the continent. Thrace, Greece, Africa, Syria, and all the kingdoms of Asia Minor, became members of this vast empire.

* A. C. 146.

† Universal History.

C H A P. XXXIV.

The Gracchi.—Sylla and Marius.—Tyranny of Sylla.—His Resignation of the Dictatorship, and Death.

THE fall of Carthage, and conquest of the Grecian states, though seemingly the most fortunate events in the Roman history, contributed to the extinction of Roman liberty. No sooner were their fears from abroad removed, than the people grew altogether ungovernable. Effeminacy, debauchery, profligacy, and every atrocious vice, succeeded to temperance, severity of life, and public spirit. As the Romans gradually extended their victorious arms over the weaker states of Italy, they were accustomed to take a certain portion of the conquered lands into their own possession; part of which was sold by auction for the use of the public, and the rest divided among the poorer citizens on the payment of a small quit-rent to the treasury. For the better regulation of these distributions, various laws had been passed from time to time, under the title of the *Agrarian laws* *. By these laws it had been ordained, that no citizen should possess more than 500 acres; but the richer citizens getting possession of large tracts of waste land, and adding to these likewise, either by force or purchase, the smaller pittance of their poor neighbours, by degrees became masters of territories instead of farms, threatening the utter ruin of the industrious husbandman, and the extinction of popular liberty.

While luxury and corruption were introduced, many citizens still retained the ancient simplicity. Cato, the Censor, attempted to reform the manners; but his rude hand was ill qualified for the task.

A nobler Roman, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, undertook the cause of his country. Melting with pity at the desolate view of the Hetrurian plains, and animated by the cries of the whole people, who importunately demanded the restitution of the alienated lands, he resolutely stood forth the advocate of their deserted cause. He proposed the execution of the Agrarian laws. This produced a civil war, in which he fell an illustrious victim to a rapacious and implacable senate. He was assassinated on the following occasion. Attalus, king of Pergamus, had by his last will left the Romans his

* They were called also Licinian Laws, from the original author Licinus.

last who fled, and went to take refuge in Præneste, a strong city that was still steadfast in his cause. Sylla closely pursued him there, and invested the city on every side. Then having disposed his army in such a manner as that none of the defendants could escape, and no forces could be thrown into the garrison from without, he marched at the head of a detachment to Rome.

The partizans of Marius, having been apprized of his defeat, abandoned the city with precipitation; so that Sylla approached without resistance. The inhabitants, thinned by famine and the ravages that attend a civil war, opened their gates upon his arrival. Upon this, entering the Forum, and assembling the people, he reprimanded them for their infidelity. However, he exhorted them not to be dejected, for he was still resolved to pardon and protect them. He observed that he was obliged by the necessity of the times to take vigorous measures, and that none but their enemies and his own should suffer. He then put up the goods of those who fled to sale; and, leaving a small garrison in the city, returned to besiege his rival.

Young Marius, on the other hand, made many attempts to raise the siege, but all his designs were known to Sylla, before they were put into execution. Wherever his sallies were pointed, the peculiar attention of Sylla's lieutenant seemed to be directed there. Thus frequently frustrated in his attempts to repulse, or at least to escape his besiegers, he gave way to that resentment which was remarkable in his family, and, ascribing his want of success to the treachery of Sylla's friends, who pretended to remain neuter, he sent orders to Rome, to Brutus, who was prætor there, to put all those senators to death, whom he suspected to be in the interest of his rival. With this cruel command Brutus immediately complied, and many of the first rank, among whom were Domitius, Antistius, and Scævola, were slain as they were leaving the senate. Thus, whatever party was victorious, Rome was a miserable sufferer.

Both factions, thus exasperated to the highest degree, and expecting no mercy on either part, gave vent to their fury in several engagements. The forces on the side of Marius were the most numerous, but those of Sylla better united and more under subordination. Carbo, who commanded an army for Marius in the field, sent eight legions to Præneste, to relieve his colleague; but they were met by Pompey in a defile, who slew many of them, and dispersed the rest. Carbo, joined by Urbanus, soon after engaged Metellus, but was overcome with the loss of ten thousand men slain, and six thousand

thousand taken prisoners. In consequence of this defeat, Urbanus, one of the consuls, killed himself, and Carbo fled to Africa, where, after wandering a long time, he was at last delivered up to Pompey; who, to please Sylla, ordered him to be beheaded. Still, however, a numerous army of the Samnites were in the field, headed by several Roman generals, and by Telesinus; who, though a Samnite, had shewn himself equal to the greatest commanders of the age.

They were soon after joined by four legions, commanded by Carianus, who was obstinately bent upon continuing the war. In consequence of this junction, a resolution was formed to make one desperate effort to raise the siege of Prænestæ, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly, Telesinus made a shew of advancing with great boldness, to force the enemy's lines of circumvallation. At the same time Sylla, at the head of a victorious army, opposed him in front; while orders were sent to Pompey to follow and attack him in the rear. The Samnite general, however, shewed himself superior to both in these operations; for, judging of their designs by their motions, he led off his troops by night; and, by forced marches, appeared next morning upon the mountains that overlooked Rome.

This devoted city had just time to shut its gates, to prevent his entrance; but he hoped to seize the place by a bold assault, and encouraging his soldiers, both by their ancient enmity to the Roman state, and their hopes of immense riches when the city was taken, he brought on his men, and led them boldly to the very walls. Appius Claudius, who was at that time in Rome, and in the interest of Sylla, made a sally to oppose him, rather with hopes of delaying the assailants, than of entirely repressing them. The Romans fought with that vigour, which the consciousness of defending every thing dear inspires. But Appius was killed in the combat; and the rest, disheartened by the loss of their general, seemed preparing for flight. Just at this interval, a part of Sylla's horse appeared at the opposite gates, who throwing themselves into the city, and hastening through it, met the assailants on the other side. The desperate fury of these, in some measure, suspended the fate of the battle, till Sylla with his whole army had time to arrive. It was then that a general and dreadful conflict ensued between the Samnite and the Roman army. The citizens from their walls beheld thousands fall on both sides. At first the forces commanded by Sylla on the left, gave way, but his lieutenant Crassus was victorious on the right. The battle continued

till late at night; nor was it till morning, that Sylla found himself victorious. He then visited the field of battle, on which more than fifty thousand of the vanquished and the victors lay promiscuously. Eight thousand of the Samnites were made prisoners, and killed in cold blood after the engagement. Marcius and Carinus, attempting to escape, were taken, and their heads being cut off, were sent, by Sylla's command, to be carried round the walls of Præneste. At this sorrowful sight, the inhabitants of the place, being now destitute of provisions, and despairing of all succour from without, resolved to surrender; but it was only to experience the unrelenting fury of the conqueror, who ordered all the males to be slain.

Marius, the cause of these calamities, was at first missing, and it was thought had escaped; but he was at last discovered lying dead with a captain of the Samnites, at the issue of one of the subterranean passages that led from the city, where they had tried to escape, but finding it guarded by the enemy, killed themselves. The city of Norba was all that remained unsubdued in Italy; but, the inhabitants, after a long resistance, dreading the fate of Præneste, set their town on fire, and desperately perished in the flames. The destruction of this place put an end to the civil war. Sylla was now become undisputed master of his country, and entered Rome at the head of his army. Happy, had he supported in peace the glory which he had acquired in war; or had he ceased to live, when he ceased to conquer.

Being now no longer obliged to wear the mask of lenity, he began his tyranny by assembling the people, and desiring an implicit obedience to his commands, if they expected favour. He then published, that those who expected pardon for their late offences, should gain it by destroying the enemies of the state. This was a new mode of proscription, by which the arms of all were turned against all. Great numbers perished by this mutual power, which was given the people of destroying each other; and nothing was to be found in every place, but menaces, distrust and treachery.

The senate, amazed at the horrid outcries of the sufferers, at first thought that the city was given to plunder; but Sylla, with an unembarrassed air, informed them, that it was only some criminals who were punished by his order, and that they needed not make themselves uneasy about their fate. The day after, he proscribed forty senators and sixteen hundred knights; and, after an intermission of two days, forty senators more, with an infinite number of the richest citizens of Rome. He declared the children and the grand-children
of

of the opposite party, infamous, and divested of the rights of freedom. He ordained, by a public edict, that those who saved or harboured any of the proscribed should suffer in their place. He set a price upon the heads of such as were thus to be destroyed, two talents being the reward affixed for every murder. Slaves, invited by such offers, were seen to kill their masters; and, still more shocking to humanity, children, whose hands still reeked with the blood of their parents, came confidently to demand the wages of parricide*.

Nor were the enemies of the state the only sufferers. Sylla permitted his soldiers to revenge their private injuries, so that husbands were murdered by such as desired to enjoy their widows; and children were slain in the embraces of their parents, who were soon to share the same fate. Riches now became dangerous to the possessor, and even the reputation of fortune was equivalent to guilt. Aurelius, a peaceable citizen, without any other crime, found his name among the number of the proscribed, and could not help crying out, just before his assassination, that he owed his death to the magnificence of his palace at Alba. But the brother of Marius felt the conqueror's most refined cruelty! First, he had his eyes plucked out deliberately; then his hands and legs cut off at several times, to lengthen his torments; and in this agonizing situation was left to expire. But these barbarities were not confined to Rome; the proscription was extended to many of the inhabitants of the cities of Italy; and even whole towns and districts were ordered to be laid desolate. These were given to his soldiers as rewards for their fidelity; who, still wanting more, excited him to new cruelty. In this general slaughter, Julius Cæsar who had married Cinna's daughter, very hardly escaped the miseries of the times. Sylla was prevailed upon to let him live, though he was heard to say, that there were many Mariuses in Cæsar.

As public affairs still remained unsettled, Sylla gave orders that application should be made to the people, to create a dictator; and that not for any limited time, but till the public grievances should be redressed. To these directions he added his request, which was equivalent to a command, that himself should be chosen. To this the people being constrained to yield, chose him *perpetual dictator*, and thus received a master, invested with authority far more absolute, than any of their kings had been ever possessed of.

The government of Rome having now passed through all the forms of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy at length began to settle into despotism; from which though it made

* Universal History.

182 *Sylla's Resignation of the Dictatorship and Death.*

some faint struggles to be free, yet it never compleatly extricated itself. Sylla being now possessed of unlimited power, used it with greater moderation than might have been expected; and, contrary to the expectations of all mankind, Sylla laid down the dictatorship, having held it not quite three years.

It was not without the greatest surprize, that the people saw this conqueror, who had made himself so many enemies in every part of the state, quitting a power he had earned by such various dangers, and reducing himself to the rank of a private citizen. But their wonder increased, when they heard him after so many acts of cruelty, and such numberless massacres, offering to take his trial before the people, whom he constituted judges of his conduct. Having divested himself in their presence of his office, and dismissed the licitors who guarded him, he continued to walk for some time in the forum, unattended and alone. At the approach of evening he retired homewards, the people following him all the way in a kind of silent astonishment, mixed with the profoundest respect. Of all that great multitude, which he had so often insulted and terrified, none were found hardy enough to reproach or accuse him, except one young man, who pursued him with insulting language to his own door. Sylla disdained replying to so mean an adversary; but turning to those who attended him, observed, *that this fellow's insolence would, for the future, prevent any man's laying down an office of such supreme authority.*

It is not easy to explain the motives of Sylla's abdication; whether they proceeded from vanity, or a deep-laid scheme of policy. Whether, being fatiated with the usual adulation which he received for his conquests, he was now desirous of receiving some for his patriotism; or whether, dreading an assassination from some secret enemy, he was willing to disarm him, by retiring from the splendors of an envied situation. However this may be, he soon retired into the country, in order to enjoy the pleasures of tranquillity and social happiness, but he did not long survive his abdication. He died of that disease, which is called the *morbus pedicularis*, a loathsome and mortifying object to human ambition. A little before his death he made his own epitaph, the tenor of which was "That no man had ever exceeded him, in doing good to his friends, or injury to his enemies."

C H A P. XXXV.

*Causes of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Republic.—
Death of Mithridates.—Conquests of Pompey.—Catiline's
Conspiracy.*

MANY causes contributed to this important event. The unlimited extent of *conquests* prepared the way for a revolution in the government. The communication of the *freedom of the city* to the nations of Italy accelerated its approach. The progress of *luxury* among the people who did not apply to arts and manufactures, forwarded this change. The *example of Sylla*, who, by making changes in the Commonwealth at the head of legions, shewed that authority had now passed into the army, and pointed out the path to every General that aspired to be master of Rome.*

But, although a *dictator* had reigned at Rome, and the legions had given the law, various causes contributed to *protract* the fate of the Commonwealth, and prevent a citizen from attaining the sovereignty of the Roman world. 1. The ancient constitution still subsisted in the imagination and the opinion of the citizens, who felt themselves interested in its preservation. 2. As Rome was a Republic, the person who was to usurp the sovereignty must have been a citizen originally on a level with other citizens. 3. The number of illustrious candidates, who now aspired to dominion, prolonged the struggle of parties, namely, Pompey and Cæsar, Antony and Octavius.

Whilst Sylla was exercising tyranny at Rome, the war with Mithridates broke out afresh. That prince headed a numerous army, from different nations; with which he conquered all Bithynia; a part of Asia, lately bequeathed to the Romans, by Nicomedes, king of that country. Mithridates also gained great advantage over the Romans in other parts of Asia. Upon this success of the enemy, the two consuls Cotta and Lucullus, were appointed to carry on the war against him, and he was defeated by Lucullus. He afterwards withdrew to Pontus, and entered into a second alliance with his son-in-law Tigranes. The united forces of these princes were, two years after, again overpowered by Lucullus. But this great commander, being forsaken by his soldiers, was obliged to give up the fruit of his toil and victories to Pompey, who was appointed to command the army in Asia, and entirely

* Logan.

defeated Mithridates. This prince was a second Hannibal, in his enmity to Rome. He continued his opposition, even tho' he found his own family confederating against him. Although he was betrayed by his son Macharis, and his life was attempted by Pharnaces, yet he still aimed at great designs, and, even in the heart of Asia, projected the invasion of the Roman empire: This he intended to effect by marching into Europe, and, after being joined there by the fierce nations that inhabited Germany and Gaul, he resolved to cross the Alps into Italy, as Hannibal had done before him. But his timid Asiatic soldiers were ill disposed to second the great views of their leader. Upon being apprized of his intentions, a mutiny ensued, which was promoted by his son Pharnaces, who had been long desirous of gaining the favour of Pompey by parricide.

Mithridates, being thus obliged to take refuge in his palace to escape the fury of the army, sent to his son for leave to depart, offering the free possession of all that remained of his wretched fortunes, and his title to those dominions, of which he had been deprived by the Romans. To this the unnatural son made no direct reply, conscious that he was offered only what could not be taken away. But, turning to the slave that brought him the message, he desired him, with a stern countenance, to tell his father, that death was all that now remained for him. Such an horrid instance of filial impiety added new poignance to the wretched monarch's affliction. He could not refrain from venting his imprecations, and from wishing that such an unnatural child might one day, meet with the like ingratitude from his own children. Then leaving his own apartment, where he had been for some time alone, he entered that particularly assigned to his wives, children, and domestics, where he bade all those prepare for death, who did not choose to undergo the horror of a Roman captivity. They all readily consented to die with their monarch, and cheerfully taking the poison, which he had in readiness, expired before him. As to himself, having used his body much to antidotes, the poison had but little effect, upon which he attempted to dispatch himself with his sword; but that also failing, a Gaulish soldier, whose name was Bitocus, performed this friendly office. Thus died Mithridates, betrayed by his son, and forsaken by the army that seemed terrified at the greatness of his enterprizes. His fortune was various; his courage always the same. He had for twenty-five years opposed Rome; and, though he was often betrayed by his captains, his children, and wives, yet he continually found re-
sources

sources against his enemies, and was formidable to the very last.

Lucullus and Pompey had both great interest in the affections of the people; but the late success of the latter general, both by sea and land, prevailed over the party of the former: Pompey was declared general of the Roman armies, and governed with an unlimited authority. Nothing was able to check the progress of his arms. He marched over the vast mountains of Taurus, setting up and deposing kings at his pleasure. Darius, king of Media, and Antiochus, king of Syria, were compelled to submit to his clemency. Phraates, king of Parthia, was obliged to retire, and send to entreat a peace. From thence, extending his conquests over the Thureans and Arabians, he reduced all Syria and Pontus into Roman provinces.

Pompey then turned towards Judea, and summoned Aristobulus, who had usurped the priesthood from his elder brother Hyrcanus, to appear before him; but Aristobulus had fortified the temple of Jerusalem against him, and refused to answer. This *venerable* place, which was thus converted into a garrison, being very strong from its situation, held out for three months, but was at last taken, and twelve thousand of its defenders were slain. Pompey entered this great sanctuary with a mixture of resolution and fear; he shewed an eager curiosity to enter into the Holy of Holies; where he gazed for some time upon those things which it was unlawful for any but the priests themselves to behold. Nevertheless he shewed so much veneration for the place, that he forbore touching any of the vast treasures deposited there. After restoring Hyrcanus to the priesthood and government, he took Aristobulus with him, to grace his triumph upon his return. This triumph, which lasted two days, was the most splendid that had ever entered the gates of Rome. In it were exposed the names of fifteen conquered kingdoms, eight hundred cities taken, twenty-nine repeopled, and a thousand castles brought to acknowledge the empire of Rome. Among the prisoners led in triumph, appeared the son of Tigranes; Aristobulus, king of Judea; the sister of Mithridates; together with the hostages of the Albanians, Iberians, and the king of Comagena. The treasures that were brought home, amounted to near four millions of our money; and the trophies and other splendors of the procession were such that the spectators seemed lost in magnificent profusion. All these victories, however, rather served to heighten the glory than to increase the power of Rome; they only made it a more glaring

glaring object of ambition, and exposed its liberties to greater danger*. Those liberties, indeed, seemed devoted to ruin on every side; for, even while Pompey was pursuing his conquest abroad, Rome was at the verge of ruin from a conspiracy at home.

This conspiracy was projected and carried on by Sergius Catiline, a patrician by birth, who resolved to build his own power on the downfall of his country. His high extraction had raised him to the principal employments in the state. He was singularly formed, both by art and nature, to conduct a conspiracy. He was possessed of courage equal to the most desperate attempts, and eloquence to give a colour to his ambition. Ruined in his fortunes, profligate in his manners, and vigilant in pursuing his aims, he was insatiable after wealth, only with a view to lavish it in guilty pleasures. In short, as Sallust describes him, he was a compound of opposite passions; intemperate to excess, yet patient of labour to a wonder; severe with the virtuous, debauched with the gay; so that he had all the vicious for his friends by inclination; and he attached even some of the good, by the specious shew of pretended virtue. However, his real character was at length very well known at Rome; he had been accused of debauching a vestal virgin; he was suspected of murdering his son, to gratify a criminal passion; and it was notorious, that in the proscription of Sylla, he had killed his own brother, to make his court to that tyrant.

Lentulus, Cethegus, and Piso were confederates with him. They agreed to set fire to the city, to murder Cicero the consul, and all who had at any time opposed their ambitious views. The Conspirators were chiefly persons of the first rank; but by riot and excess they had debased their families, and were become desperate.

Cicero greatly distinguished himself by the suppression of this conspiracy. Fulvia, a woman of ill fame, and who held a criminal correspondence with Quintus Curius, one of the conspirators, first disclosed it to him; and he, in the presence of Catiline, declared the whole design to the senate. By his vigilance also, he entirely disconcerted the measures of the conspirators, and obliged them to confess their crime in full assembly of the senate. Catiline fled with a few followers to the army of Marius; Lentulus, Cethegus, and other principal conspirators, were soon after put to death by order of the senate. Catiline afterwards collected a small body of forces, but he was engaged by Peterius the lieutenant of Antony the consul, and slain in the battle†.

* Hooke.

† Sallust.

The greater part of the world was now subdued, and the Roman empire had arrived to such grandeur, that it could scarce extend itself farther. No outward force was sufficient to subdue the power of the Romans; but the state at length fell by its own weight, and the ambition of the leading men. Julius Cæsar at this time began to make a considerable figure in Rome. He had before enjoyed many public offices, and was now prætor and governor of Sparta, where he greatly extended the frontiers of the Roman province, and on his return home was received with the general acclamations of the people.

This celebrated man was nephew to Marius, by the female line, and descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome. He had already mounted by the regular gradations of office; having been quæstor, ædile, and grand pontiff, and prætor in Spain. Being descended from popular ancestors, he warmly espoused the side of the people, and shortly after the death of Sylla procured those whom he had banished to be recalled. He had constantly declared for the populace against the senate, and consequently became their favourite magistrate. He had received proper intelligence during his administration in Spain, of what was transacting at Rome, and resolved to return to improve occurrences in his favour. His services in Spain had deserved a triumph, and his ambition aspired to the consulship. However, it was contrary to law for that he should enjoy both; for to obtain the consulship, he must come into the city, and by entering the city, he was disqualified for a triumph. In this dilemma, he preferred solid power to empty parade, and determined to stand for the consulship, at the same time resolving to attach the two most powerful men in the state to him, by effecting their reconciliation. He accordingly began, by offering his services to Pompey, promising to assist him in getting all his acts passed, notwithstanding the opposition of the senate. Pompey, pleased with the acquisition of a person of such merit readily granted him his confidence and protection. He next applied to Crassus, who, from former connections, was disposed to become still more nearly his friend. At length, finding them not averse to an union of interests, he took an opportunity of bringing them together; and remonstrating to them on the advantage, as well as the necessity of a reconciliation, had art enough to persuade them to forget former animosities. A combination was thus formed, by which they agreed, that nothing should be done in the commonwealth, but what
received

received their mutual concurrence and approbation. This was called the First Triumvirate, by which we find the constitution weakened by a new interest, that had not hitherto taken place in the government, very different from that of the senate or the people, and yet dependent on both. A power like this, however, as it depended upon the nice conduct of different interests, could not be of long continuance; and, in fact, was soon after swallowed up in the military power, which destroyed even the shadow of liberty.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus, the first Triumvirate.—Battle of Pharsalia.—Death and Character of Pompey.

THE first thing Cæsar did, upon being taken into the triumvirate, was to avail himself of the interest of his confederates to obtain the consulship. The senate had still some small influence left; and though they were obliged to concur in choosing him, yet they gave him for a colleague, one Bibulus who they supposed would be a check upon his power; but the opposition was too strong even by superior abilities to be resisted; so that Bibulus, after a slight attempt in favour of the senate, remained inactive the succeeding part of the year. Cæsar, however, was by no means so; but began his schemes for empire, by ingratiating himself with the people.

He next deliberated with his confederates, about sharing the foreign provinces of the empire. The partition was soon made. Pompey made choice of Spain; for being fatigued with conquest, and satisfied with military fame, he wished to take his pleasures at Rome; and there being no appearance of revolt in his province, he knew it could be easily governed by his lieutenant. Crassus chose Syria for his part of the empire; which province, as it had hitherto enriched the general, who had subdued it, would, he hoped, gratify him in this his most favourite pursuit. To Cæsar was left the provinces of Gaul, composed of many fierce and powerful nations; most of them unsubdued, and the rest only professing a nominal subjection. Wherefore as it was rather appointing him to conquer than command this government was granted for
five

five years. These three men, having thus divided the world among themselves, prepared for their respective destinations.

There was an obstacle, however, in Caesar's way, which seemed to blast his aims, and which he wished to have removed, previous to his setting out. This was Tullius Cicero, who, by his penetration and eloquence, defeated the conspiracy of Catiline, and continued a watchful guardian over the liberties of Rome. This great orator and statesman, or, to give him an higher appellation, this excellent philosopher, had, from a very humble original, raised himself to the foremost rank of the state. He was endowed with all the wisdom and all the virtues that could adorn a man. However, his wisdom, by directing his views over too wide a sphere, often overlooked those advantages which were clearly discerned by short-sighted cunning; and his virtues by being applauded by others, and receiving his own conscious approbation, tinctured his mind with vanity.

In order to expel this great man from the republic, Caesar resolved to take into his party Publius Clodius, a man of patrician birth, dissolute manners, great popularity, and an inveterate enemy to Cicero. He was at this time a tribune of the people, although he had been obliged to get himself adopted by a Plebeian, before he could obtain that office. The hopes of revenging himself upon Cicero, in some measure incited him to stand for it; and the concurrence of Caesar and Pompey with his pretensions, soon assured him of success. He, therefore, publicly began to accuse Cicero, for having put the late conspirators to death; who being citizens ought to have been adjudged by the people. Cicero, terrified at this accusation, did all that lay in his power to oppose it. He applied to Caesar to be taken as his lieutenant into Gaul; but Clodius had art enough to divert him from that design, by pretending that his resentment was rather a matter of form than of revenge. Pompey, too, contributed to put him off his guard by a promise of protection; so that the cunning of these men of moderate abilities was more than a match for the wisdom of the philosopher. Clodius, having first caused a law to be enacted, importing, that any man who had condemned a Roman citizen unheard, should himself be banished, soon after impeached Cicero upon it. It was in vain that this master of eloquence went up and down the city, soliciting his cause in the habit of a suppliant, and attended by many of the first young noblemen whom he had taught the rules of oratory. Those powers of speaking which had been so often successful in

in defending the cause of others, seemed totally to forsake him in his own; he was banished, by the votes of the people, four hundred miles from Italy; his houses were ordered to be demolished, and his goods set up to sale. None now remained that could defend the part of the senate but Cato; and he was soon after sent into Cyprus, under pretence of doing him a favour; but, in reality, in order to leave an open theatre for the triumvirate to act in. Cæsar during these intrigues, pretended to be an unconcerned spectator, and to be wholly occupied in his preparations for going into Gaul. He, in fact, left nothing undone, that might advance the speed, or increase the strength of this expedition; wherefore leaving Pompey to guard their mutual interests at home, he marched into his province at the head of four legions, that were granted him by the senate, and two more that were lent him by his new associate in the empire.

To enumerate all the battles which Cæsar fought, and the states he subdued, in his expeditions into Gaul and Britain, would fill volumes. It will be sufficient just to mention those victories, which a great and experienced general, at the head of a disciplined army, gained over the barbarous and tumultuary, tho' numerous, forces that were led to oppose him. The Helvetians were the first who were brought into subjection, with the loss of near two thousand men. The Germans, with Ariovistus at their head, were next cut off, to the number of eighty thousand; their monarch himself narrowly escaping in a little boat across the Rhine. The Belgæ were destroyed with such great slaughter, that marshes and deep rivers were rendered passable by the heaps of slain*. The Nervians, who were the most warlike of those barbarous nations, made head for a short time, and fell upon the Romans with such fury, that their army was in danger of being utterly routed; but Cæsar hastily catching up a buckler rushed through his army into the midst of the enemy; by which means the face of affairs was so effectually changed, that the barbarians were all cut off to a man. The Celtic Gauls, who were powerful at sea, were next brought under subjection. And after them, the Suevi, the Menapii, and all the nations, from the Mediterranean to the British sea.

From thence, stimulated by the desire of conquest, he crossed over into Britain, upon pretence that the natives had furnished his enemies with supplies. Upon approaching the

* Cæsar's Commentaries.

shores, he found them covered with men to oppose his landing, and his forces were in danger of being driven back, till the standard-bearer of the tenth legion boldly leaped ashore, and, being supported by Cæsar, the natives were put to flight. The Britons being terrified at Cæsar's power, sent to desire a peace, which was granted them, and some hostages delivered. A storm, however, soon after destroying great part of his fleet, they resolved to take advantage of the disaster, and marched against him with a powerful army. But what could a naked undisciplined army do against forces that had been exercised under the greatest generals, and hardened by the conquest of the greatest part of the world? Being overthrown, they were obliged once more to sue for peace; which Cæsar granted them, and then returned to the continent. But his absence once more inspired this people, naturally fond of liberty, with resolution to disclaim the Roman power; and in a second expedition by repeated victories, Cæsar so intimidated their general Cassibelanus, that he no longer endeavoured to resist in the plains, but, keeping in the forests, seemed resolved to protract the war. However, Cæsar pursuing him closely, and crossing the Thames with his army, so straitened him, that he was obliged to submit to the conqueror's conditions, who imposed an annual tribute, and took hostages for the payment of it. Thus, in less than nine years, he conquered, together with Britain, all that country which extends from the Mediterranean to the German sea. It is said that, in these expeditions, he took eight hundred cities, subdued three hundred different states; overcame three millions of men, one of which fell in the field of battle, an equal number being made prisoners of war*. These conquests, and this destruction of mankind, may, in the present advancement of morals, be regarded with detestation; but they were regarded as the height of human virtue, at the time they were achieved. In fact, if we examine Cæsar's great assiduity in providing for his army, his skill in disposing them for battle, and his amazing intrepidity during the engagement, we shall not find a greater general in all antiquity. But in one thing he excelled all, with incontestible superiority; namely, in his humanity to the vanquished. This seemed a virtue but little known to the times in which he lived, so that mankind were then more obliged to heroes than they at present choose to confess.

• Plutarch.

Crassus

Crassus carried on an unsuccessful war against the Parthians in Syria, and there lost his life. One of the Triumvirate being thus taken off, the jealousy of the other two was soon perceived. Pompey was not able to bear an equal, nor Cæsar a superior; and thus the country was involved in a civil war.

Cicero, about this time, returned to Rome from Cilicia. His absence having prevented him from espousing the cause of either party, he now endeavoured to act as a mediator; but no proposal of accommodation would be listened to.

Pompey being the acknowledged general of the commonwealth, the senate and consuls followed his ensigns. His rival, however, was more powerful by his activity, and the love of his soldiers.

In the mean time, those who had declared themselves most strongly in Cæsar's interest, began to fear the consequences of the absolute power granted the consuls of disposing all things at their pleasure, and of treating whom they would as enemies to the state. But particularly Curio, with the two tribunes Marcus Antonius and Longinus, supposed they had reason to be apprehensive. They accordingly fled, disguised as slaves, to Cæsar's camp, deploring the injustice and tyranny of the senate, and making a merit of their sufferings in his cause. Cæsar produced them to his army, in the habits which they had thus assumed, and being touched with the strongest compassion at their treatment, burst out into severe invectives against the senate, alledging their tyranny over the state, their cruelty to his friends, and their flagrant ingratitude to himself for all his past services. "These," cried he, pointing to the tribunes, who were in the habits of slaves, "these are the rewards obtained by the faithful servants of their country; men, whose persons are sacred by their office, and whose characters have been esteemed for their virtues; these are driven from their country, obliged for safety to appear as the meanest of mankind, and to find protection only in a distant province of the empire, for maintaining the rights of freedom, those rights which even Sylla, in all the rage of slaughter, durst not violate." This speech he enforced with the most passionate gestures accompanied with tears. The soldiers, as if inspired with one mind, cried out, that they were prepared to follow him wherever he should lead, and were ready to die or revenge his injuries. A general acclamation rung through the whole camp; every man prepared for a new service of danger; and, forgetting the

the toils of ten former campaigns, retired to his tent to meditate on future victory.

When the army was thus fit for his purpose, Cæsar, at the approach of night, sat down to table chearfully conversing with his friends on subjects of literature and philosophy, and apparently disengaged from every ambitious concern. However, after some time, rising up, he desired the company to make themselves chearful in his absence, and said he would be with them in a short time. In the mean time having made the necessary preparations, he immediately set out, attended by a few friends, for Ariminum, a city upon the confines of Italy, whither he had dispatched a part of his army the preceding morning. This journey by night, which was very fatiguing, he performed with great diligence, sometimes walking, and sometimes on horseback, till at the break of day he came up with his army, which consisted of about five thousand men, near the Rubicon, a little river which separates Italy from Gaul, and which terminated the limits of his command. The Romans had been taught to consider this river as the sacred boundary of their domestic empire; the senate had long before made an edict, which is still to be seen engraven in the road near Rimini, by which they solemnly devoted to the infernal gods, and branded with sacrilege and parricide, any person who should presume to pass the Rubicon with an army, a legion, or even a single cohort. Cæsar, therefore, when he advanced at the head of his army to the side of the river, stopped upon the bank, as if impressed with terror at the greatness of his enterprise. The dangers he was to encounter, the slaughters that might ensue, the calamities of his native city, all presented themselves to his imagination in gloomy perspective, and struck him with remorse. He pondered for some time in fixed melancholy, looking upon the river, and debating with himself, whether he should venture. "If I pass this river (said he to one of his generals who stood by him) what miseries shall I bring upon my country! and, if I stop, I am undone." Thus saying, and resuming all his former alacrity, he plunged in, crying out, that the die was cast, and all was now over. His soldiers followed him with equal promptitude, and quickly arriving at Ariminum, made themselves masters of the place without resistance.

This unexpected enterprise excited the utmost terrors in Rome, every one imagining that Cæsar was leading his army to lay the city in ruins. At one time were to be seen the citizens

citizens flying into the country for safety, and the inhabitants of the country flocking for shelter to Rome. In this universal confusion, Pompey felt all that repentance and self-condemnation which must necessarily arise from the remembrance of having advanced his rival to his present pitch of power. Wherever he appeared, many of his former friends were ready to accuse him of supineness, and sarcastically to reproach his ill-grounded presumption. "Where is now," said a senator of his party, "the army that is to rise at your command? Let us see if it will appear by stamping." Cato reminded him of the many warnings he had given him*; to which, however, he could never prevail upon him to attend. Being at length wearied with these reproaches which were offered under colour of advice, he did all that lay in his power to encourage and confirm his followers. He told them that they should not want an army, and that he would be their leader. He confessed, indeed, that he had long mistaken Cæsar's aims; judging of them only from what they ought to be; but if his friends were still inspired with the love of freedom, they might yet enjoy it in whatever place their necessity should happen to conduct them.

The consuls, with great part of the senators, followed the fortune of Pompey, who removed from the neighbourhood of Rome to Apulia on the Adriatic sea. In a short time after Cæsar made himself master of Rome, and seized the public treasure deposited in the temple of Saturn. After this he went into Spain, when Fabius joined him with three legions. In a bloody engagement, he soon after vanquished Petricus and Afranius, Pompey's generals, and obliged their armies to surrender prisoners of war.

Pompey passed over into Greece, where he made great preparations to support his cause, and engaged all the East in his interest. He also drew large sums of money out of Asia, and gained great advantages over Dolabella and Caius Antonius, commanders for Cæsar, on the coast of Illyricum. Crowds of the most distinguished citizens, and nobles from Rome, came every day to join him. He had at one time above two hundred senators in his camp, among whom were Cicero and Cato, whose approbation of his cause was equivalent to an army.

Notwithstanding such preparations against him, Cæsar proceeded with his usual vigour. He now resolved to face his rival in the East, and led his forces to Brundisium, a seaport town of Italy, in order to transport them into Greece.

But he wanted a fleet numerous enough to carry the whole at once, and it appeared dangerous to weaken his army by dividing it. Besides, it was now the middle of winter, and very difficult for any vessels, much more for so slight a fleet as his was, to keep the sea. Add to this, that all the ports and the shores were filled with the numerous navy of his rival, conducted by Bibulus, famous for his knowledge in nautical operations. He accordingly shipped off five of his twelve legions, which amounted to no more than twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse, and, weighing anchor, fortunately steered through the midst of his enemies, timing it so well that he made his passage in one day. He landed at Pharsalus, not daring to venture into any known port, which he was apprehensive might be possessed by the enemy. When he saw his troops safely debarked, he sent back the fleet to bring over the rest of his forces; but thirty of his ships, in their return, fell into the hands of Pompey's admiral, who set them all on fire, even destroying the mariners, in order to intimidate the rest by this cruel example.

Both sides prepared for battle; and these two great men at the head of their respective armies, disputed for the empire of the universe. The conduct of the generals was equal to the greatness of the cause; each animated his soldiers by their own bravery and resolution. Pompey at first got the advantage, and was by his army saluted emperor; when, advancing into Thessaly, he encamped upon the plains of Pharsalia, where he was joined by Scipio, his lieutenant, with the troops under his command. There he waited for the coming up of Cæsar, resolved upon engaging, and upon deciding the fate of the empire by a single battle.

The approach of these two great armies, composed of the best and bravest troops in the world, together with the greatness of the prize for which they contended, filled all minds with anxiety, though with different expectations. Pompey's army, being most numerous, turned all their thoughts to the enjoyment of the victory, Cæsar's, with better aims, considered only the means of obtaining it. Pompey's army depended upon their numbers, and their many generals; Cæsar's, upon their own discipline, and the conduct of their single commander; Pompey's partizans hoped much from the justice of their cause; Cæsar's alledged the frequent proposals which they had made for peace without effect.

It is remarkable, that Pompey put himself at the head of those troops which were disciplined and instructed by Cæsar; an incontestible proof how much he valued them above any

of the rest of his army. Cæsar, on the contrary, placed himself at the head of his tenth legion, which had owed all its merit and fame to his own training.

Now the fate of the empire of Rome was to be decided by the greatest generals, bravest officers, and the most expert troops that mankind had ever seen till that hour. Each private man, in both armies, was almost capable of performing the duty of a commander, and inspired with a desire to conquer or die.

The two generals went from rank to rank, encouraging their men, raising their hopes, and lessening their apprehensions. "You are engaged, said Pompey," "in the defence of liberty and of your country. You are supported by its laws, and followed by its magistrates. You have the world spectators of your conduct, and wishing you success. On the contrary, he whom you oppose is a robber and oppressor. Shew, then, on this occasion, all that ardour for liberty, and detestation of tyranny, which should animate Romans, and do justice to mankind."

Cæsar, on his side, went among his men with that steady serenity, for which he was so much admired in the midst of danger. He insisted on nothing so strongly to his soldiers as his frequent and unsuccessful endeavours for peace. He talked with terror of the blood he was going to shed, and pleaded only the necessity that urged him to it. He deplored the many brave men that were to fall on both sides, and the wounds of his country, whoever should be victorious.

His soldiers answered his speech with looks of ardour and impatience; upon observing which, he gave the signal to charge. The word on Pompey's side was, *Hercules the invincible*; that on Cæsar's, *Venus the victorious*. There was only so much space, between both armies, as to give room for fighting; wherefore Pompey ordered his men to receive the first shock, without moving out of their places, expecting the enemies ranks to be put in disorder by their motion. Cæsar's soldiers were now rushing on with their usual impetuosity, when perceiving the enemy motionless, they stopped short, as if by general consent, and halted in the midst of their career.

A terrible pause ensued, in which both armies continued to gaze upon each other, with mutual terror and dreadful serenity. At length, Cæsar's men having taken breath, ran furiously upon the enemy, first discharging their javelins, and then drawing their swords. The same method was observed by Pompey's troops, who as vigorously sustained the attack.

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His cavalry also were ordered to charge at the very onset, which, with the multitude of archers and slingers, soon obliged Cæsar's men to give ground, and get themselves, as he had foreseen, upon the flank of his army. Whereupon Cæsar immediately ordered the six cohorts, that were placed as a reinforcement, to advance; and repeated his orders, to strike at the enemy's faces. This had its desired effect; the cavalry, who thought they were sure of victory, received an immediate check: The unusual method of fighting pursued by the cohorts, their aiming entirely at the visages of the assailants, and the horrible disfiguring wounds they made, all contributed to intimidate their enemies so much, that instead of defending their persons, their only endeavour was to save their faces. A total rout ensued of their whole body, which fled in great disorder to the neighbouring mountains, while the archers and slingers, who were thus abandoned were cut to pieces.

Cæsar now commanded the cohorts to pursue their success, and advancing, charged Pompey's troops upon the flank. This charge the enemy withstood for some time with great bravery, till he brought up his third line, which had not yet engaged. Pompey's infantry being thus doubly attacked, in front by fresh troops, in rear by the victorious cohorts, could no longer resist, but fled to their camp. The flight began among the strangers, though Pompey's right wing still valiantly maintained their ground.

Cæsar, however, being convinced that the victory was certain, with his usual clemency, cried out to pursue the strangers, but to spare the Romans; upon which they all laid down their arms and received quarter. The greatest slaughter was among the auxiliaries, who fled on all sides, but principally went for safety to the camp. The battle had now lasted from break of day till noon, the weather being extremely hot; nevertheless, the conquerors did not remit their ardour, being encouraged by the example of their general, who thought his victory not complete, till he was master of the enemy's camp. Accordingly marching on foot at the head of his troops, he called upon them to follow and strike the decisive blow. The cohorts, which were left to defend the camp, for some time made a formidable resistance; particularly a great number of Thracians and the other barbarians, who were appointed for its defence; but nothing could resist the ardour of Cæsar's victorious army; they were at last driven from their trenches, and all fled to the neighbouring mountains.

Cæsar seeing the field and camp strewn with his fallen countrymen, was much affected at so melancholy a prospect, and could not help crying out to one that stood near him, *They would have it so.*

Upon entering the enemy's camp, every object presented fresh instances of the blind presumption and madness of his adversaries. On all sides were to be seen tents adorned with ivy and branches of myrtle, couches covered with purple, and side-boards loaded with plate. Every thing gave proofs of the highest luxury, and seemed rather preparatives for a banquet, or the rejoicing for a victory, than the dispositions for battle.

Cæsar had now gained the most complete victory that had ever been obtained; and, by his great clemency after the battle, he seemed to have deserved it. His loss amounted to about two hundred men; that of Pompey to fifteen thousand, as well Romans as auxiliaries. Twenty-four thousand men surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and the greatest part of these entered into Cæsar's army, and were incorporated with the rest of his forces. As to the senators and Roman knights, who fell into his hands, he generously gave them liberty to retire wherever they thought proper.

Pompey set out for Egypt, in hopes of finding a protector in king Ptolemy, whose father he had settled in that kingdom. The king himself being then very young, Photinus, Achilles, and Theodotus, who were his counsellors, gave it as their opinion, that to admit him was making Pompey their master, and drawing on them Cæsar's resentment; and by not receiving him, they offended the one, without obliging the other; that, therefore, the only expedient left, was to give him leave to land, and then to kill him: this would at once oblige Cæsar, and rid them of all apprehension from Pompey's resentment; for, concluded he, with a vulgar and malicious joke, *dead dogs can never bite* *.

This advice prevailing in a council composed of the slaves of an effeminate and luxurious court, Achilles, commander of the forces, and Septimius, who had formerly been a centurion in Pompey's army, were appointed to carry it into execution. Accordingly, attended by three or four more, they went into a little bark, and rowed towards Pompey's ship, which lay about a mile from the shore. When Pompey and his friends saw the boat moving towards them, they began to wonder at the meanness of the preparations to receive them; and some even ventured to suspect the intentions of the Egyptian court. But before any thing could be determined, Achil-

* Hooke.

las was come to the ship's side, and in the Greek language welcomed him to Egypt. He then invited him into the boat, alledging, that the shallows prevented larger vessels from coming to receive him. Pompey, imprudently did as they desired him; and as he was stepping out of the boat, they treacherously murdered him. Having cut off his head they caused it to be embalmed, the better to preserve its features, designing it for a present to Cæsar. The body was thrown naked on the strand, and exposed to the view of all whose curiosity led them to examine it. However, his faithful freedman, Philip, still kept near it, and when the crowd was dispersed he washed it in the sea, and looking round for materials to burn it, he perceived the wreck of a fishing-boat, of which he composed a pile. While thus employed, he was accosted by an old Roman soldier, who had served under Pompey in his youth. "Who art thou," said he, "that art making these humble preparations for Pompey's funeral?" Philip having answered, that he was one of his freedmen: "Alas!" replied the soldier, "Permit me to share in this honour. Among all the miseries of my exile it will be my last sad comfort, that I have been able to assist at the funeral of my old commander, and touch the body of the bravest general that ever Rome produced." After this, they joined in giving the corpse the last rights, and collecting his ashes, they buried them under a little rising earth, scraped together with their hands, over which was afterwards placed the following inscription: *He, whose merits deserve a temple, can now scarce find a tomb.*

Such was the end, and such was the funeral, of Pompey the Great; a man who had many opportunities of enslaving his country, but rejected them all. He was fonder of glory than of power, of praise than command, and was more vain than ambitious. His talents in war were every way superior to those of his contemporaries, except Cæsar's; it was, therefore, his peculiar misfortune to contend with a man, in whose presence all other military merit lost its lustre. Whether his aims during the last war were more just than Cæsar's must for ever remain doubtful; certain it is, that he frequently rejected all offers of accommodation, and began to talk of punishment, before he had any pretensions to power. But whatever might have been his intentions, in case of victory, they could not have been executed with more moderation than those of Cæsar. The corruptions of the state were too great to admit of any other remedy but that of an absolute government, and it was hardly possible that power could have

200 *Cæsar spends nine Months with Cleopatra in Egypt:*

fallen into better hands than those of the conqueror. From Pompey's death, therefore, we may date the total extinction of the republic. From this period the senate was dispossessed of all its power; and Rome, from henceforward, was never without a master.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Cæsar spends nine Months with Cleopatra in Egypt. — Death and Character of Cato. — Assassination of Cæsar. — His Character.

THE success of Cæsar only seemed to increase his activity, and inspired him with fresh resolution, to face new dangers. He resolved therefore to pursue his last advantage, and follow Pompey to whatever country he should retire. Upon his landing in Egypt, the first accounts he received were of Pompey's miserable end; and soon after, one of the murderers came with his head and ring, as a most grateful present to the conqueror. Cæsar had too much humanity to be pleased with such an horrid spectacle. He turned away from it with disgust; and, after a short pause, gave vent to his pity in a flood of tears. He shortly after ordered a magnificent tomb to be built to his memory, on the spot where he was murdered.

Cæsar spent nine months at Alexandria, with the celebrated Cleopatra. There were at that time two pretenders to the crown of Egypt; Ptolemy, the acknowledged king; and the famous Cleopatra, his sister; to whom, by the custom of the country, he also was married; and who by his father's will, shared jointly in the succession. However, not being contented with a bare participation of power, Cleopatra aimed at governing alone, and, for this purpose wished to have an interview with Cæsar.

She was now in the bloom of youth, and every feature borrowed grace from the lively turn of her temper. To the most engaging address she joined the most harmonious voice, which the historians of her time compare to the best tuned instrument. With all these accomplishments she possessed a great share of the learning of the times, and could give audience to the ambassadors of seven different nations without an interpreter. The difficulty was how to gain admittance to Cæsar,

Cæsar, as her enemies were in possession of all the avenues that led to the palace. For this purpose she went on board a small vessel, and, in the evening, landed near the palace, where, being wrapt up in a coverlet, she was carried by one Aspolodorus into his very chamber. Her address, at first, pleased him; her wit and understanding still fanned the flame; but her caresses, which were carried beyond the bounds of innocence, entirely brought him over to second her claims.

The Egyptian army being defeated, Ptolemy himself, attempting to escape on board a vessel that was sailing down the river, was drowned by the ships sinking, and Cæsar thus became master of all Egypt without further opposition. He then appointed Cleopatra, with her younger brother, an infant, joint governors; according to the intent of their father's will.

On Cæsar's return to Rome, the senate decreed him an unlimited authority. He was appointed consul for ten years, and perpetual dictator, when he made Mark Antony his master of horse. During the preceding year, Pompey's party had gathered fresh strength in Africa under Scipio, Cato, and Juba, king of Numidia. Cæsar marched an army into that country, and entirely defeated the enemy at Thapsus, a town on the sea coast. Upon this victory, Zama and other cities surrendered to Cæsar. Scipio was drowned in his passage to Spain, king Juba obliged a slave to dispatch him, and Cato retired to Utica, a city in Africa, with about three hundred Romans. Here he besought his friends to rely on the conqueror's mercy, resolving no longer to *force men to be free*, who seemed naturally prone to slavery. "As to myself," said he, "I am at last victorious."

After this, supping cheerfully among his friends, he retired to his apartment, where he behaved with unusual tenderness to his son, and to all his friends. When he came into his bed-chamber, he laid himself down, and took up Plato's Dialogue on the Immortality of the Soul; and, having read for some time, happening to cast his eyes to the head of his bed, he was much surprised not to find his sword there, which had been taken away by his son's order, while they were at supper. Upon this, calling one of his domestics to know what was become of it, and receiving no answer, he resumed his studies; but some time after called for his sword again. When he had done reading, and perceiving nobody obeyed him, he called all his domestics one after the other, and, with a peremptory air, demanded his sword once more. His son came in soon after, and with tears besought him, in the most humble manner, to change his resolution; but, receiving a stern
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reprimand, he desisted from his persuasions. His sword being at length brought him, he seemed satisfied, and cried out, "Now again am I master of myself." He then took up the book again, which he read twice over, and fell into a sound sleep. Upon waking, he called to one of his freedmen, to know if his friends were embarked, or if any thing yet remained that could be done to serve them. The freedman assuring him, that all was quiet, he was then ordered again to leave the room; and Cato was no sooner alone than he stabbed himself through the breast, but not with that force he intended, for the wound not dispatching him, he fell upon his bed, and at the same time overturned a table on which he had been drawing some geometrical figures. At the noise he made in his fall, his servants gave a shriek, and his son and friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels passed through his wound. The physician, who attended his family, perceiving that his intestines were yet untouched was for replacing them; but when Cato had recovered his senses, and understood their intention to preserve his life, he pushed the physician from him, and with a fierce resolution tore his bowels and expired.

In this manner died Cato, who was one of the most faultless characters we find in the Roman history. He was severe, but not cruel; and ready to pardon much greater faults in others than he could forgive himself. His haughtiness and austerity seemed rather the effect of principle than natural constitution, for no man was more humane to his dependants, or better loved by those about him. The constancy of his opposition to Cæsar proceeded from a thorough conviction of the injustice of his pursuits.

Whether the manner in which this great republican put a period to his life, was justifiable or not, has ever since been a matter of much dispute. It must be owned that he did not, on this occasion, act conformably to his own system of philosophy; and if we try him by the laws of Christianity, he will still appear more culpable. Life is but a short summer's campaign, in which we have many battles to fight, many breaches to mount, many strong fortresses to storm. The prudent general, however unfortunate he may have been for a long time, experience teaches us, often proves at last successful, and gives us a convincing proof, that it is cowardice to despair, though, in all human appearance, every thing seems lost. We ought, however, to allow Cato some favourable circumstances. We must consider the age in which he lived, and the barbarity of those times, in which
suicide

suicide was not forbidden either by religion or laws. Shall Cato become the sport and mockery of those people, to whom he once gave laws? Shall he live to see his country, once the seat of sweet liberty and freedom, become a den of tyranny and oppression? Shall his eyes behold her laws subverted, venality and corruption carrying every thing before them, and that once fair and stately city of Rome, the mistress of the world, now, through faction and party, precipitating into a pile of ruins?

Cæsar upon hearing of this great man's fate, said, "Cato has envied me the glory of saving his life, and therefore I envy him his death; designing, as some have thought, to conquer him by generosity and kindness." Utica surrendered immediately; and this event terminating the war in Africa, Cæsar returned in triumph to Rome.

Cæsar pursued his good fortune with great rapidity. Besides his conquests in Alexandria, and over Pompey's party, in Africa, he defeated king Pharnaces in Egypt; who attempting to take refuge in his capital, was slain by one of his own commanders; a just punishment for his former parricide. This victory was gained with so much ease, that Cæsar, in writing to a friend at Rome, expressed the rapidity of it in three words, *veni, vidi, vici*. A man, so accustomed to conquest, thought a slight battle scarce worth a longer letter.

Cæsar afterwards went into Spain, and marched in person against the two sons of Pompey, who under Labienus had raised a powerful army. The armies came to an engagement in the plains of Munda. Cæsar after a great hazard of being entirely routed, animated his soldiers with the greatest resolution, and gained a complete victory over the enemy. Thirty thousand were killed on the spot, and all Spain submitted to the conqueror.

After this great success, and prosperous settlement of his affairs abroad, Cæsar returned to Rome, and triumphed four times in one month. He rewarded his soldiers with great liberality, and exhibited public shews, with great magnificence for the diversion of the people; and, to remove every cause of jealousy, he bestowed the honours of the state on Pompey's friends as well as his own.

Many of the senators, however, who had received these favours at the hands of Cæsar, secretly upbraided themselves for accepting of his kindness at the expence of the public liberty. Many were also dissatisfied with the change of government, and the ambitious conduct of Cæsar, who now attempted to assume the regal title. These sought to accom-
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plish his ruin; and, in private cabals, it was agreed that the liberty of the commonwealth could not be longer maintained without the death of the dictator.

Brutus and Cassius were, by Cæsar's appointment, Prætors for that year. These men were at the head of this party; the former of whom made it his chief glory to have been descended from that Brutus who first gave liberty to Rome. The passion for freedom seemed to have been transmitted with the blood of his ancestors down to him. But though he detested tyranny, yet he could not forbear loving the tyrant, from whom he had received the most signal benefits. However, the love of his country broke all the ties of private friendship, and he entered into a conspiracy which was to destroy his benefactor.

The conspirators, to give a colour of justice to their proceedings, remitted the execution of their design to the ides of March, the day on which Cæsar was to be offered the crown. The assembly of the senate was at this time held in a great hall which Pompey had built for that purpose, and in which his statue stood. Cæsar, as he was entering, met Spurina, an augur, who had foretold his danger, to whom he said, smiling, "Well, Spurina, the ides of March are come."—"Yes," replied the augur, "but they are not past." As soon as he had taken his place, the conspirators came near him under pretence of saluting him; and Cimber, who was one of them, approached in a suppliant posture, pretending to sue for his brother's pardon, who had been banished by his order. All the conspirators seconded him with great earnestness; and Cimber, seeming to sue with still greater submission, took hold of the bottom of his robe, holding him so as to prevent his rising. This was the signal agreed on. Casca, who stood behind him, drawing his dagger, stabbed him in the neck; but the weapon glancing, the wound was not mortal. Cæsar immediately seized Casca by the hand which held the dagger, crying out, *Vile traitor! what dost thou mean?* Upon this, the rest of the conspirators, drawing their daggers, surrounded Cæsar, and fell upon him with such fury, that several of them wounded each other. Brutus, in particular, received a wound in the hand from Cassius, who, attacking Cæsar with prodigious rage, gave him a deep wound in the head. The hero, "thus baited on all sides, like a wild beast in a toil", fought, and defended himself in the best manner he could; till, looking round him, to see if he could make his escape, he

* Plutarch.

perceived Brutus, with his dagger in his hand. From that moment Cæsar thought no more of defending himself, but looking stedfastly on him, exclaimed, "And thou too, my son!" Then covering his head, and spreading his robe before him, in order to fall with greater decency, he sunk down at the base of Pompey's statue, after receiving three-and-twenty wounds from hands, which he vainly supposed he had disarmed by his benefits.

Thus died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and forty-three years before the Christian æra, the greatest warrior that Rome, or perhaps the world ever saw, after he had fought with success fifty pitched battles, taken by assault a thousand towns, and slain eleven hundred and ninety-two thousand men*. He was a person of extraordinary parts, and wonderful abilities, in all the arts of war and civil government, and of equal diligence and application in the use of them. He was beloved and revered by the people, honoured and adored by his friends, and esteemed and admired even by his enemies. But as his ambition, which knew no bounds, prompted him to enslave his country, and usurp an arbitrary power over those who were as free as himself, his life was certainly a just forfeit. If the state had been deemed irretrievable, and a despotic governor a necessary evil, Rome could not have had a better than Cæsar.

To pretend to say that from the beginning he planned the subjection of his native country, is doing no great credit to his well-known penetration, as a thousand obstacles lay in his way, which fortune, rather than conduct, was to surmount. No man, therefore, of his sagacity, would have begun a scheme in which the chances of succeeding were so many against him. It is most probable that, like very successful men, he only made the best of every occurrence; and his ambition rising with his good fortune, from at first being contented with humbler aims, he at last began to think of governing the world, when he found scarce any obstacle to oppose him. Such is the disposition of man, whose cravings after power are always most insatiable when he enjoys the greatest share.

Among other noble schemes and ordinances, which tended to the grandeur of the city of Rome, and the enlargement of the Roman empire, Cæsar reformed the calendar; and, with the assistance of the most able astronomers, regulated the year according to the course of the sun. Two months were add-

* Pliny.

ed to the calendar, and the whole year was divided into three hundred and sixty-five days. He also added one day to every fourth year, in the month of February; and that year was named Biffextile or Leap year. This regulation was called the Julian account of time; and some ages after the Old Style, in opposition to the New, or Gregorian Style.

With the death of Cæsar ended the first Triumvirate, or government of the Roman empire by three persons, Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Antony's Funeral Oration over Cæsar's dead Body.—Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus, the Second Triumvirate.—Cicero assassinated.—Battle of Philippi.—Death of Brutus and Cassius.

CÆSAR was no sooner dead, than the conspirators acquainted the senate with the motives of their undertaking, and exhorted them to join in an action, which had restored the liberty of their country: Many of the senators, however, were terrified, and filled with amazement; while others had retired to their houses to wait the issue of so bold and tragical an action.

In this disposition of the senators, Brutus and Cassius went into the city with their daggers yet warm with Cæsar's blood; and preceded by an herald, with the symbols of liberty, publickly proclaimed they had killed the tyrant of their country, and exhorted the people to join in restoring the liberty of the commonwealth. The people no less struck with terror at this deed than the senators, being now greatly degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, did not declare in their favour. The conspirators surprised at this indolence of the people, retired to the capitol; and though Brutus had freed his country from a tyrant, he had it not in his power to abolish tyranny.

Antony, Cæsar's friend, was at this time consul, and the city was divided into two parties; one of which espoused the cause of the conspirators, and the other that of Antony and Lepidus. Brutus now saw with regret that the death of the usurper of the common liberty would create fresh disturbance, in the commonwealth. Antony summoned the senate, who never met on a more important occasion; at the same time
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he carried all Cæsar's effects and papers to his own house. In the assembly of the senate, as both parties were afraid of each other, they entered into a treaty, or the appearance of agreement; and with joint consent it was agreed, that no enquiry should be made into the dictator's death; that all his acts should be confirmed, and his funeral performed at the public expence. This last article was given in charge to Antony. He ascended the rostrum, pronounced the funeral oration, and exerted the whole power of his rhetoric to work on the passions of the multitude. He read Cæsar's will in the presence of all the people, and expatiated largely on the love he bore them, and his generosity in bequeathing to each citizen a sum of money. He enumerated the many victories he had gained, the great conquests he had made, and the various nations he had subdued. Then he mentioned all the titles of honour which the republic had conferred upon him, his dictatorship, his several consulships, and, above all, the glorious name of *Father of his country*. From thence he passed to his virtues, extolling his courage, his learning, his eloquence, his humanity, and clemency even to his enemies. After this, he repeated the oath which the people of Rome had taken to him, by which they swore, that his person should be sacred and inviolable, and that they would defend him at the hazard of their own lives. Then unfolding the bloody garment of Cæsar, he shewed them in how many places it was pierced, and exposed to their view the number of his wounds. When he found the people agitated with grief and anger, he swore by the Gods of Rome, the protectors of the empire to revenge his death, and conjured them to favour him, in doing his duty to the Father of his country, and their kind benefactor. Resentment and rage succeeded to grief, and when the fire was put to the funeral pile, the people seized the firebrands, in order to burn the houses of the conspirators, against whom they now expressed the most bitter imprecations. As they had no arms, however, they were soon repulsed by a proper guard appointed to defend them.

The senate and conspirators were equally offended at this artful speech of Antony; and complained, that the consul, contrary to the decree of the senate, and his own promise had so pathetically enlarged on the praises of Cæsar, with a view only to excite the rage of the people, and promote their ruin. Brutus declared, "that he would willingly spend the remainder of his days in banishment, provided Cæsar's creatures, did not invade the public liberty."

Antony,

Antony, sensible that he had too openly declared himself, and raised a suspicion of his intentions in the senate, endeavoured by some acts of self-denial to reconcile himself to them, and regain their favour. For this purpose he began to soften the harsh expressions of his funeral oration, and remonstrated to them, how necessary it was to quiet the minds of the people, and to prevent the calamities of a civil war. But all this seemingly candid declaration could not clear him from the suspicion of a design upon the sovereignty.

Cæsar, by his will, had adopted Octavius his sister's grandson, and appointed him his heir. This young Roman, was at Apollonia in Greece, when he first heard of his great uncle's murder, and the unsettled state of Italy. He immediately determined to set out for Rome, and support his pretensions. His arrival entirely frustrated the measures of Antony. In a solemn manner, he immediately claimed his adoption, and took upon him the name of Cæsar. Whilst he upbraided Antony for his double dealing, he put on the appearance of civility to him.

Octavius seems to have inherited, not only the wealth but the inclinations of his uncle. He sold his own paternal estate, to pay such legacies as Cæsar had left; and particularly that to the people. By these means he gained a degree of popularity, which his enemies in vain laboured to diminish. His conversation was elegant and insinuating; his face comely and graceful; and his affection to the late dictator so sincere, that every person was charmed either with his piety or his address. But what added still more to his interest, was the name of Cæsar which he had assumed; and, in consequence of which, the former followers of his uncle now flocked in great numbers to him.

Thus the state was divided into three distinct factions; that of Octavius, who aimed at procuring Cæsar's inheritance, and revenging his death; that of Antony, whose sole view was to obtain absolute power; and that of the conspirators, who endeavoured to restore the senate to its former authority.

In order to prevent Octavius from joining with Antony, the senate gave him the consulship, flattered him with new honours, and invested him with a power superior to all law. The first use that Octavius made of his new authority, was to procure a law for the condemnation of Brutus and Cassius; and, in short, to join his forces with those of Antony and Lepidus.

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The meeting of these three usurpers of their country's freedom, was near taking place, upon a little island of the river Panarus. Their mutual suspicions were the cause of their meeting in a place, where they could not fear any treachery; for even in their union, they could not divest themselves of mutual diffidence. Lepidus first entered; and, finding all things safe made the signal for the other two to approach. They embraced each other, upon their first meeting; and Octavius began the conference, by thanking Antony for his zeal in putting Decimus Brutus to death; who, being abandoned by his army, was taken, as he was endeavouring to escape into Macedonia, and beheaded by Antony's command.

They then entered upon the business that lay before them, without any retrospect on the past. Their conference lasted for three days; and, in this period, they fixed a division of government, and determined upon the fate of thousands. One can scarce avoid wondering how that city, which gave birth, to such men as Fabricius and Cato, could now be a tame spectator of a conference, which bartered away the lives and liberties of the people at their pleasure. To see these three men seated, without attendants, on the highest part of a desolate island, marking out whole cities, and nations for destruction, and yet none to oppose their designs, shows what changes may quickly be wrought in the bravest people in a short time. The result of their conference was, that the supreme authority should be lodged in their hands, under the title of the Triumvirate, for the space of five years; that Antony should have Gaul; Lepidus, Spain; and Octavius, Africa and the Mediterranean islands. As for Italy and the Eastern provinces they were to remain in common, until their general enemy was entirely subdued. But the last article of their union was a dreadful one. It was agreed, that all their enemies should be destroyed, of which each presented a list. In these were comprised, not only the enemies, but the friends of the Triumvirate, since the partisans of the one were often found among the opposers of the other. Thus Lepidus gave up his brother Paulus to the vengeance of his colleague; Antony permitted the proscription of his uncle Lucius; and Augustus delivered up the great Cicero. The most sacred rights of nature were violated; three hundred senators, and above two thousand knights, were included in this terrible proscription; their fortunes were confiscated, and their murderers enriched with the spoil. Rome soon felt the effects of this infernal union. Nothing but cries and lamentations were to be heard through all the city, scarce a house escaping without a murder. No man dared to refuse

VOL. I. P entrance

entrance to the assassins, although he had no other hopes of safety; and this city, that was once the beauty of the world, seemed now reduced to desolation without an army; and now felt the effects of an invading enemy, with all the deliberate malice of cool-blooded slaughter.

In this horrid carnage, Cicero was one of those principally sought after, who, for a while, seemed to evade the malice of his pursuers; but upon hearing of the slaughters that were committed at Rome, he set forward from his Tusculan villa, towards the sea side, intending to transport himself out of the reach of his enemies. But he was pursued by a party of Antony's assassins, who cut off his head and his hands, returning with them to Rome, as the most agreeable present to their cruel employer. Antony, who was then at Rome, received them with extreme joy, rewarded the murderers with a large sum of money, and placed Cicero's head on the rostrum, as if there once more to reproach his vile inhumanity. Cicero was slain in the sixty-third year of his age, but not until he had seen his country ruined before him. "The glory he obtained," says Julius Cæsar, "was as much above all other triumphs as the extent of the Roman genius was above that of the bounds of the Roman empire."

Brutus and Cassius had withdrawn themselves into Greece, where they reduced Sardis, and other cities in the East; Antony and Octavius agreed to follow them; and both armies met at the city of Philippi, on the confines of Macedonia and Thrace. Here the future destiny of the Republic was decided, and the liberty of Rome buried in the death of Brutus and Cassius. The former defeated that part of the army which Octavius commanded; but Antony got the better of Cassius, who obliged one of his freedmen to kill him. Brutus, after the loss of a second battle, killed himself, that he might not outlive the liberty of his country, and fall into the hands of his enemies.

Thus died Brutus in the forty-third year of his age, and with him all the hopes of liberty and Rome. The conquered troops submitted, and the Triumvirs established, on the ruins of the Republic, the authority they had usurped, and became masters of the whole Roman empire.

The first days after the victory, were employed by the Triumvirate in punishing their enemies. The head of Brutus was sent to Rome, and laid at the feet of the late dictator's statue; at the same time his ashes were sent to his wife Portia, the daughter of Cato, who, it is said, on receiving this sad present, killed herself by swallowing burning coals. It is ob-
served,

served, that of all those, who had a hand in Cæsar's death, not one died a natural death.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Lepidus is banished.—Antony and Cleopatra—Battle of Actium—Death of Antony—Cleopatra poisons herself.

AFTER this victory, Octavius returned to Italy, and Antony passed over into Asia. He afterwards went into Egypt, where he spent the remainder of the year, at Alexandria with Cleopatra, in the most riotous pleasures.

Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey the Great, had long resided in Sicily, and afforded an asylum to the friends of liberty. Messala collected the remains of the army from the battle of Philippi, and appeared at the head of fourteen thousand men; finding it impossible, however, to oppose the present torrent of success, he went over to the Triumvirate. Octavius sent Agrippa into Sicily, who soon obliged Pompey to retire from the country; whilst he himself remained for the most part in Italy, and took every step to increase his power.

As the republican party was no more, unrivalled dominion was now Octavius's object. Lepidus, being soon divested of his share of the sovereignty, was banished to Circæum, where he spent the remainder of his days, despised by his friends, and to all a melancholy object of blasted ambition.

The only obstacle to universal empire, which now stood in his way, was Antony, whom he resolved to remove, and for that purpose began to render his character as contemptible as he possibly could at Rome. Antony's conduct, indeed, did not a little contribute to promote the endeavours of his ambitious partner in the state. He had marched against the Parthians with a prodigious army, but was forced to return, with the loss of the fourth part of his forces, and all his baggage. This extremely diminished his reputation; but his making a triumphal entry into Alexandria, soon after, entirely disgusted the citizens of Rome; however, Antony, seemed quite regardless of their resentment. Alive only to pleasure, and totally disregarding the business of the state, as well as his wife Octavia, the sister of Octavius, he spent whole days and nights in the company of Cleopatra, who stu-

died every art to increase his passion, and vary his entertainments. Few women have been so much celebrated for the art of giving novelty to pleasure, and making trifles important. Still ingenious in filling up the languid pauses of sensual delight with some new stroke of refinement, she was at one time a queen, then a bacchanal, and sometimes a huntress. She invented a society called, the *Inimitable*; and those of the court, who made the most sumptuous entertainments, carried away the prize. Not contented with sharing, in her company, all the delights which Egypt could afford, Antony was resolved to enlarge his sphere of luxury, by granting her many of those kingdoms which belonged to the Roman empire. This complication of vice and folly at last totally exasperated the Romans; and Augustus, willing to take the advantage of their resentment, took care to exaggerate all his defects. At length, when he found the people sufficiently irritated against him, he resolved to send Octavia, who was then at Rome, to Antony, as if with a view of reclaiming her husband; but in fact, to furnish a sufficient pretext of declaring war against him, as he knew she would be dismissed with contempt.

Antony was now at the city Leucopolis revelling with his infamous paramour, when he heard that Octavia was at Athens, upon her journey to visit him. This was very unwelcome news as well to him as to Cleopatra; who fearing the charms of her rival, endeavoured to convince Antony of the strength of her passion by her sighs, languishing looks and well-feigned melancholy. He frequently caught her in tears, which she seemed as if willing to hide; and often intreated her to tell him the cause, which she seemed willing to suppress. These artifices, together with the incessant flattery and opportunity of her creatures, prevailed so much upon Antony's weakness, that he commanded Octavia to return without seeing her, and attached himself still more closely to Cleopatra than before. His ridiculous passion began to have no bounds. He resolved to own her for his wife, and entirely to repudiate Octavia. He accordingly assembled the people of Alexandria in the public theatre, where was raised an alcove of silver, under which were placed two thrones of gold, one for himself and the other for Cleopatra. There he seated himself dressed like Bacchus, while Cleopatra sat beside him clothed in the ornaments and attributes of Isis, the principal deity of the Egyptians. On that occasion he declared her queen of all the countries which he had already bestowed upon her; while he associated Cæsarion, her son by Cæsar, as
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her partner in the government. To the two children, which he had by her himself, he gave the title of King of Kings, with very extensive dominions; and, to crown his absurdities, he next sent a minute account of his proceedings to the two consuls at Rome.

One *folly* is generally the *parent* of many more. As he became a God it was now necessary to act up to his imaginary dignity; new luxuries and pageantries were therefore studied, and new modes of profusion found out. No less a sum than sixty thousand pounds of our money was lavished upon one single entertainment. It is said, upon this occasion that Cleopatra dissolved a pearl of great value into vinegar, and drank it off. Yet, however high wrought their entertainments might be, they wanted that delicacy which gives the finest relish to all sensual happiness. Antony, as we are told, was but a coarse and inelegant soldier, who mistook obscenity for wit, and profusion for magnificence. Cleopatra who was naturally more refined, was yet obliged to comply with his disposition, and to bear with his debaucheries, rather than share them. But we are told of one circumstance that might well repress their delights, and teach mankind to relish the beverage of virtue, however simple, above their most zested enjoyments. He was suspicious of being poisoned in every meal; he feared Cleopatra whom he so much loved, and would eat nothing, without having it previously tasted by one of his attendants.

The behaviour of Antony to the sister of Octavius, broke off all appearance of agreement between them, Antony complained that his colleague had seized upon Sicily, without affording him a share; and that he had divided all Italy among his own soldiers, leaving nothing to recompence those in Asia. To this complaint Octavius was contented to make a sarcastic answer, implying, that it was absurd to complain of his distribution of a few trifling districts in Italy; when Antony, having conquered Parthia, might now reward his soldiers with cities and provinces. This sarcasm upon Antony's misfortunes in Parthia, so provoked him, that he ordered Canidius, who commanded his army, to march without delay into Europe, while he and Cleopatra followed to Samos, in order to prepare for carrying on the war with vigour. When arrived there it was ridiculous enough to behold the odd mixture of preparations for pleasure and for war. On one side, all the kings and princes from Egypt to the Euxine sea had orders to send him thither supplies both of men, provisions, and arms; on the other side, all the comedians, dancers, buffoons,

foons, and musicians of Greece, were ordered to attend him. Thus, frequently, when a ship was thought to arrive laden with soldiers, arms, and ammunition, it was found only filled with players and theatrical machinery. When news was expected of the approach of an army, messengers only arrived with tidings of a fresh quantity of venison. In this manner he laboured to unite incompatible pursuits. The kings who attended him endeavoured to gain his favour more by their entertainments than their warlike preparations. The provinces strove rather to please him by sacrificing to his divinity, than by their alacrity in his defence; so that some were heard to say, "What rejoicings would not this man make for a victory, when he thus triumphs at the eve of a dangerous war!" In short, his best friends now began to forsake his interests, which is generally the case with all those who first forsake themselves.

His delay at Samos, and afterwards at Athens, where he carried Cleopatra, to receive new honours, was extremely favourable to the arms of Augustus. At length the war was begun, and the armies of each general were suitable to the greatness of the empire they contended for. The one was followed by all the forces of the East; the other drew after him all the strength of the West to support his pretensions. Antony's force composed a body of an hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse; while his fleet amounted to five hundred ships of war. The army of Augustus mustered but eighty thousand foot, but equalled his adversary's in number of cavalry. His fleet was but half as numerous as Antony's; his ships, however, were better built, and manned with better soldiers.

Such forces on both sides may excite our wonder, but not our interest and approbation. Neither of them had a good cause to support. The contention of both was only like that of two robbers, who quarrel in the division of their plunder.

The great decisive engagement, which was a naval one, was fought near Actium, a city of Epirus, at the entrance of the gulf of Ambracia. Octavius was triumphant, and Antony retired into Egypt, where he killed himself. Cleopatra also soon after put an end to her life, and Egypt became a new addition to the empire of Rome.

The manner of Cleopatra's death was as follows: Being informed, that Octavius, intended her as an ornament in his triumph, she entreated permission to pay her last oblations at Antony's tomb. This request being granted her, she was carried, with her two female attendants, to the stately monument

ment where he was laid. There she threw herself upon his coffin, bewailed her captivity, and renewed her protestations not to survive him. She then crowned the tomb with garlands of flowers; and having kissed the coffin a thousand times, she returned home, to execute her fatal resolution. Having bathed, and ordered a sumptuous banquet, she attired herself in the most splendid manner; and after the feast, ordered all but her two attendants, Charmion and Iris, to leave the room. Having previously ordered an asp to be secretly conveyed to her in a basket of fruit, she sent a letter to Octavius, informing him of her fatal purpose, and desiring to be buried in the same tomb with Antony. Octavius, upon receiving this letter, instantly dispatched messengers to stop her intentions, but they arrived too late. Upon entering the chamber they beheld Cleopatra lying dead upon a gilded couch, arrayed in her royal robes. Near her, Iris, one of her faithful attendants, was stretched lifeless at the feet of her mistress; and Charmion herself almost expiring, was settling the diadem upon Cleopatra's head. "Alas!" cried one of the messengers, "was this well done, Charmion?"—"Yes," replied she, "it is well done, such a death becomes a queen, descended from a race of glorious ancestors." On pronouncing those words she fell down, and died with her much-loved mistress.

There are some circumstances in the death of this celebrated woman, which interest our affections, contrary to the dictates of our reason. Though with scarce any valuable talent but that of cunning, and scarce any other ornament but that of beauty, yet we pity her fate, and sympathise with her distresses. She died at the age of thirty-nine, after having reigned twenty-two years. Her death put an end to the monarchy in Egypt, which had flourished there for immemorial ages.

C H A P. XL.

Augustus Cæsar.—Reasons why Julius Cæsar failed in his attempt to make a Revolution in the Government, whilst Augustus succeeded—Moderation of Augustus—His Death.

THE battle of Actium decided the fate of liberty and of Rome. Octavius, who now assumed the title of Augustus, was become compleat master of the Roman world; and at the head of the most extensive empire that mankind had ever beheld. By the advice of Agrippa and Mæcenas, he new-modelled the form of government, and declined the title of king. After securing, by his mild and prudent behaviour, the adherents of Antony, he gained the affections of the senators and chief magistrates, by the most sumptuous entertainments, and a promise to resign the sovereign power at the end of five years, or as soon as he had restored peace, and quiet to the state. He exhibited public shows, and, by an artful conduct, quieted the minds of the people, who with joy saw the gates of the temple of Janus shut, after they had been open two hundred and seventeen years.

It is very remarkable, that during the long contentions of the Romans among themselves, and the horrid devastations by civil war, the state was daily growing formidable and powerful, and completed the destruction of all the kings who presumed to oppose it. A modern politician * pretends to prove, upon principle, that this must be the case in every state long harrassed by civil war. "In such a season," says he, "the nobility, the citizens, the artizans, the peasants, in short, the whole body of the people, become soldiers; and when peace has united all the contending parties, this state enjoys great advantages over others, whose subjects are generally citizens. Besides civil wars always produce great men; as then is the season when merit is sought for, and talents become conspicuous."

However this may be, there never was a time when Rome was so magnificent, populous, and refined. The revenues of the empire, have been computed to be about forty millions of our money. The number of citizens amounted to four millions and sixty-three men, women, and children; a number more than double that of London, at present the most populous city in the world. Rome and its suburbs, historians tell us, were, at this time, fifty miles in compass.

* Montesquieu.

The greatest events in history proceed from a mixture of design and accident, and partly arise from the character of individuals, partly from the situation in which they are placed. When Cæsar attempted to make a revolution in the government, the Romans had not forgot their ancient freedom. Sentiments of liberty were so universal as to pervade even the army, who were the engines of its destruction. The great men who had beheld the republic, and felt their consequence under the old constitution, refused to descend from the rank of equals to Cæsar, to be the subjects of the dictator.

When Augustus began his reign, a different situation of affairs took place. After long and bloody wars, peace was proclaimed; and the people, entertained at feasts, and with shews, forgot their ancient freedom, or never remembered it without the concomitant ideas of civil wars, proscriptions, and massacres. Many of the most noble families were extinct; and the republicans of spirit and zeal had perished by the sword.

When Cæsar became master of the republic, he displayed that ambition which he was formerly careful to conceal. He fought the ostentation as well as the possession of power. He despised established forms, and could not conceal his contempt of the senate, and of the people. His virtues too, his magnanimity, and his clemency, tended to accelerate his fate.

The death of Cæsar was a warning to his successor. He respected, or seemed to respect the senate; preserved the ancient forms of the commonwealth; refused the dictatorship and the title of Lord, and endeavoured to persuade the people that they were free. His vices concurred with his good fortune in raising him to greatness. The adoption of Cæsar had inspired him with ambition, the name of Cæsar had given him the legions; his cunning and flattery, unsuspected in youth, procured him the influence and eloquence of Cicero; his cruelty and avarice consented to the horrible proscriptions which exterminated the most eminent or formidable Romans. We must add, however, in justice to his fame, that, though feeble in the field, he was hardy in the cabinet; that he took advantage of all those circumstances which fortune presented; that he made a wise choice of his ministers, and governed the Roman empire with prudence and moderation*.

The Romans became fond of his government, and in full senate gave him the title of *Father of his country*. Several very wholesome edicts were passed by his command, tending

to suppress corruption in the senate, and licentiousness in the people. He enacted, that the senators should be always held in great reverence; adding to their authority what he had taken from their power. He made a law, that no man should have the freedom of the city, without a previous examination into his merit and character. He fined many, who had refused to marry at a certain age; and rewarded such as had many children. With regard to players, of whom he was very fond, he severely examined their morals, not allowing the least licentiousness in their lives, nor indecency in their actions.

His treatment of Cornelius Cinna, Pompey's grandson, is a proof of his good sense, and political sagacity. This nobleman had entered into a very dangerous conspiracy against him; but the plot was discovered before it was ripe for execution. Augustus, for some time, debated with himself how to act; but, at last his clemency prevailed; he therefore sent for those who were guilty, and after reprimanding them, dismissed them all. But he was resolved to mortify Cinna by the greatness of his generosity; for addressing him in particular, "I have twice," says he, "given you your life; first, as an enemy, now, as a conspirator; I now give you the consulship; but let us, therefore, be friends for the future: and let us only contend in shewing, whether my confidence or your fidelity, shall be victorious." This generosity which the emperor very happily timed, had so good an effect, that from that instant, all conspiracies ceased against him.

Though he was, by the single authority of his station, capable of condemning, or acquitting whomsoever he thought proper, yet he gave the laws their proper course; and even sometimes pleaded for those he desired to protect. One of his veteran soldiers entreated his protection in a certain cause; but Augustus taking little notice of his request, desired him to apply to an advocate. "Ah!" replied the soldier, "it was not by proxy that I served you at the battle of Actium." This reply pleased Augustus so much, that he pleaded his cause in person, and gained it for him.

Mæcenas, an able statesman, and great patron of learning, had great influence over Augustus. His talents qualified him for the highest posts, but his love of ease would not suffer him to accept of them. His benevolence, however, often made him employ his credit with the emperor, in behalf of his friends, and seldom without success. Of the freedom with which he corrected the faults of Augustus, a judicious histo-
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rian* gives us the following remarkable instance: Augustus was one day judging some criminals, when Mæcenas, perceiving him to be in a bad humour, and inclined to give too great a loose, attempted to approach his tribunal. Not being able, however, to break through the crowd, he wrote the following note, *Come down from the tribunal, butcher*, and threw it into his lap. Augustus no sooner read it, than he rose up, and quitted the tribunal, without sentencing any of the criminals to death. He died in the twenty-first year of the reign of Augustus.

Horace, the prince of the Latin lyric poets, did not long survive his great patron and benefactor. Mæcenas died about the beginning of September, and Horace on the 27th of the following November. About the same time Dionysius of Halicarnassus began to write his books of the Roman History and Antiquities.

Virgil died some years previous to this period. Having retired to Greece to finish his *Æneid*, he went to Athens to meet Augustus, on his return to Rome from the East. The emperor, who had a great regard for him, received him with uncommon marks of kindness and esteem. Virgil, leaving Athens soon after, in the hot season of the year, with an intention to visit the antiquities of Megara, fell sick there. In that condition he embarked for Italy; but the fatigue of the voyage increasing his distemper, he died at Brundisium, in the fifty-first year of his age, leaving the greatest part of his wealth, which was very considerable, to Augustus and Mæcenas, his two chief patrons and benefactors. As he had not yet put the last hand to his *Æneid*, he ordered, by his will, that inimitable poem to be burnt; but Augustus saved Troy from a second conflagration, and, by that means, preserved for all future ages a most perfect pattern of epic-poetry.

From the battle of Actium, Augustus reigned forty-four years, and died at Nola in Campania, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His power began in the slaughter, and terminated in the happiness of his subjects; so that it was said of him, "That it had been good for mankind if he had never been born, or if he never had died." It is very probable, that the cruelties, exercised in his triumvirate, were suggested by his colleagues; or, perhaps, he thought, in the case of Cæsar's death, that revenge was a virtue.

When he became emperor, he gave the government an air suited to the disposition of the times; indulged his subjects in

* Dion Cassius.

the pride of seeing the appearance of a republic, while he really made them happy in the effects of a most absolute monarchy, guided by the most consummate prudence. In this last virtue he seems to have excelled most monarchs; and, indeed, could we separate Octavius from Augustus, he would be one of the most faultless princes in history *. The long peace which his subjects enjoyed, during his administration, may be entirely ascribed to his moderation alone; and about the middle of his reign, the greatest part of mankind saw themselves, at once, professing obedience to one monarch, and in perfect harmony with each other.

This was the time in which our Saviour Jesus Christ, came into the world. He was born at Bethlehem, in Judæa, in the 25th year of the reign of Augustus, and in the 4004th year of the world, according to the common computation.

C H A P. XLI.

Of the Arts, Sciences, and Manners of the Romans.—Military Exercises of the Romans.—Roman Camp.—Roman Navy.

DURING the first ages of the Republic, the Romans lived in a total neglect, or rather contempt, of all the elegant improvements of life. War, politics, and agriculture, were the only arts they studied, because they were the only arts they esteemed. But upon the downfall of Carthage, the Romans having no enemy to dread from abroad, began to taste the sweets of security, and to cultivate the arts. Their progress, however, was not gradual, as in the other countries we have described. The conquest of Greece at once put them in possession of every thing most rare, curious, or elegant. Asia, which was the next victim, offered all its stores; and the Romans, from the most simple people, speedily became acquainted with the arts, the luxuries and refinements of the whole earth. Eloquence they had always cultivated, as the high road to eminence and preferment. The orations of Cicero are inferior only to those of Demosthenes. In poetry Virgil yields only to Homer, whose verse, like the prose of Demosthenes, may be considered as inimitable. Horace, however, in his satires and epistles, had no model among the

* Rollin.

Greeks, and stands to this day unrivalled in that species of writing. In history, the Romans can boast of Livy, who possesses all the natural ease of Herodotus, and is more descriptive, more eloquent, and sentimental. Tacitus, indeed, did not flourish in the Augustan age, but his works do himself the greatest honour, while they disgrace his country and human nature, whose corruption and vices he paints in the most striking colours. In philosophy, if we except the works of Cicero, and the system of the Greek philosopher Epicurus, described in the nervous poetry of Lucretius, the Romans, during the time of the republic, made not the least attempt. In tragedy, they never produced any thing excellent; and Terence, though remarkable for purity of style, wants that comica vis, or lively vein of humour, that distinguishes the Greek comedian, and which distinguishes our Shakespeare.

Cato the Elder, called also the Censor, from an apprehension of bad consequences, endeavoured to get a law enacted, by which philosophers and teachers of Rhetoric, might be banished from Rome. In this he was certainly mistaken. Learning is beneficial to a nation; nor can men be called wise and happy, as long as they are ignorant. The writings of Cicero, Virgil and Horace; of Livy, Sallust and Tacitus, do more honour to the Roman name, than all the wars and conquests of ancient Rome. Learning, like religion, or any other good, may be abused; but learning, when directed to its proper end, namely, the investigation of truth, and to disseminate useful knowledge, is one of the greatest blessings of human life. The difference between the man of learning, and the ignorant, may be said to be as great, as that between a person endowed with reason, and an idiot.

"There is one thing surprising to us," says an ingenious writer*, "which yet was very common at Rome. To see the same man a magistrate, a warrior, a judge, and a general; an able pleader, and a skilful politician; a statesman, and a man of letters; capable of signalizing himself, and of being useful in all those different employments.—What wonderful men! surely their education must have been very different from ours! How limited the circle in which our talents are confined!" In modern times, the person who acts well in one department of life, is highly commended; but to fill several with advantage, to the public, would make him be thought a kind of prodigy.

* Abbé Millot.

In the earlier and more virtuous ages of the commonwealth, the use of arms was confined to the citizens of Rome.—They were equally interested in increasing the territory, or maintaining the glory of the republic. But as dominion was extended, public virtue declined; and the legions, though supposed to consist of the Roman citizens, were recruited from the distant provinces. The officers were, generally, men of birth and education; but the common soldiers, allured by the hopes of gain, answered to the mercenary levies of modern times.

The Roman peasant, or mechanic, was taught to consider the profession of arms with a degree of veneration. His reputation was to depend upon his own valour; and he considered the corps in which he served as, in some measure suffering from the infamy he laboured under, or partaking of the glory he acquired. On his first entrance, an oath of allegiance and obedience was administered to him; and to abandon his standard, in the hour of danger, was not considered less ignominious than impious. Thus honour and religion bound him to the faithful discharge of his duty; while a regular pay and a certain recompence, after the stated time of service, assured present subsistence and future ease. To these incentives was added the fear of chastisement; and cowardice or disobedience was, unexceptionably, destined to exemplary punishment. The authority of the Centurions extended to every severity short of death; the power of inflicting the last was reserved to the general.

The Romans were not less sensible of the effects of skill and practice, than the advantages of valour. In their language, the very name of an army was borrowed from the word which signified exercise. Military evolutions were practised with unremitting attention. The hoary veteran and inexperienced recruit were equally compelled to daily repetition; and the first was not suffered to forget, what the last was instructed to acquire. Their limbs were continually burthened with arms, and the weight they were accustomed to bear in peaceful preparation doubled what was necessary in real action. The body was strengthened by continual exertion, and rendered active by incessant motion; to run, leap, and swim, were considered as important parts of their duty.

The arms of a Roman legion were uniform; an open helmet, with a lofty crest; a coat of mail; greaves on their legs; and on their left arm a buckler, framed of light wood, covered with a bull's hide, and guarded with plates of brass; a light spear, and a ponderous javelin called the pilum, the length of which

which was about six feet, terminated by a triangular point of steel of eighteen inches; the sword was short and double-edged, suited alike to cut or thrust; and the soldier in action was wisely instructed to prefer the latter use of it. The legion was drawn up eight deep; and the regular distance of three feet was left between the files and ranks.

The cavalry, without which this body would have been imperfect, was divided into ten squadrons; the first consisted of a hundred and thirty-two men, the other nine only of sixty-six: the whole amounted to seven hundred and twenty-six.

The camp of a Roman legion was alike celebrated for its perfect regularity, as the soldiers were for the exactness of their discipline. Its form was a quadrangle; and a square of about seven hundred yards, we may calculate, was sufficient space for the encampment of twenty thousand men. The prætorium or General's tent, in the middle, rose above the rest; distinct and different quarters were occupied by the cavalry, infantry, and auxiliaries. The streets were broad, and between the tents and surrounding rampart was left a vacancy of two hundred feet: the height of the rampart was generally twelve feet, defended by a ditch of the same depth and breadth, and further secured by a strong line of palisades. The legions, early inured to labour, were accustomed to fortify their camp with their own hands, and were taught to consider the use of the pick-axe and spade equally necessary with the javelin or sword. When the signal of departure was given by sound of trumpet, the soldiers fell silently into their ranks, without delay or confusion. To the weight of their arms, were added kitchen furniture, the instruments of fortification, and provision for several days; yet, beneath this accumulated burthen, they were trained to march usually twenty miles within six hours. On the appearance of an enemy, they disencumbered themselves of their baggage, and readily ranged themselves in order of battle: the slingers and archers in the van, the military engines in the rear; the auxiliaries formed the first line, the legions the second, and the cavalry covered the flanks.

The navy of Rome would have appeared in the eye of modern Europe, far inadequate to her greatness, and unworthy of her Empire. But the ambition of the Romans was confined to the land; nor did they possess that enterprising spirit of navigation, so necessary to the establishment of a maritime power. In the Punic wars a naval force had been formed with

with difficulty, and was at last crowned with success; and the imprudence of Antony risked his fame and fortune on the engagement at Actium. Yet the Romans never could be induced to consider the sea as their proper department; and though their dominion over it was extensive and undisputed, they still continued to regard the ocean as an object rather of terror than curiosity. The policy of their Emperors extended no farther than to secure the peaceful navigation of it; and content with protecting the necessary commerce of their subjects, they cautiously refrained from exploring the remote coasts of the unfrequented main.

C H A P. XLII.

Rome under the Emperors, Tiberius and Caligula—Degeneracy and Luxury of the Romans.—Appius the Epicure.—The Spintria.—Caligula's Treatment of his Horse.—Claudius.—Nero.—Galba.—Otho.—Vitellius—Conquest of Britain.—Petus and Arria.—Messalina.—Seneca.—Persecution of the Christians.

FROM the death of Augustus to the reign of Vespasian, the annals of Rome are stained with cruelty and blood; and history transmits a race of monsters which disgrace humanity. Authors have mentioned this fact, without attempting to assign the cause. If we consider the character of the Roman people, and the state in which the first Emperors found themselves on their accession to the throne, we will discover reasons that gave rise to this excess of cruelty and tyranny. In despotic governments, which have been long established, the subjects are disposed to obey, as much as the monarch to command. But the descendants of the people who had given the law to Kings, and disposed of kingdoms, were not prepared for slavery. Their early education; the history of their country; the books which they read; the characters which they admired; all tended to inspire them with the admiration of patriotism, and the love of liberty*. Even the Emperor Antonius ranks Brutus among the models of perfect virtue.

Such being the spirit of the Romans, the situation of the Emperors, who were originally on a level with the people, tended to precipitate them into crimes. The forms of a long

* Logan.

established monarchy command veneration as well as obedience; and hereditary succession removes the idea of competitors for the crown. But the Roman Emperors, having no rights but what they had usurped, saw a rival in every wealthy Patrician; and, depending on the army, foreboded a successor whenever a General was victorious. Hence the assassination of the most illustrious citizens.

Augustus was succeeded by Tiberius his son-in-law, whose tyranny became insupportable, and A. D. 14. he was assassinated in the 23d year of his reign.

The Romans were, at this time, arrived at the highest pitch of effeminacy and vice. The wealth of almost every nation of the empire, having for some time, circulated thro' the city, brought with it the luxuries peculiar to each country; so that Rome presented a detestable picture of various pollution.

In this reign lived Appicius, so well known for having reduced *gluttony into a system*. Some of the notorious in this way, thought it no shame to give near an hundred pounds for a single fish, and exhaust a fortune of fifty thousand pounds in one entertainment. Dissipation of every other kind kept pace with this; while the detestable folly of the times thought it was refining upon pleasure to make it unnatural.

There were at Rome men called *Spintriae*, whose sole business it was, to study new modes of pleasure; and these were universally favourites of the great.

The people had, for some years, been accustomed to live in idleness, upon the donations of the Emperor; and, being satisfied with subsistence, entirely gave up their freedom.—“After the death of Augustus,” says a celebrated historian, “the Roman people ran headlong into slavery.”

In the eighteenth year of this monarch's reign, our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST suffered death on the cross. Soon after his death, Pilate wrote to Tiberius an account of his passion, resurrection, and miracles; upon which the Emperor made a report of the whole to the senate, desiring that Christ might be accounted a God by the Romans. But the senate being displeased that the proposal had not come first from themselves, refused to admit of his *apotheosis*; alledging an ancient law, which gave them the superintendance in all matters of religion. They even went so far as, by an edict, to command, that all Christians should leave the city. But Tiberius, by another edict, threatened death to all such as should accuse them; by which means, they continued unmolested during the rest of his reign.

A. D. 38. Caius Caligula, the successor of Tiberius, exceeded his predecessor in all manner of dissipation and profligacy; but in martial affairs he was much his inferior. He is famous, however, for a mock expedition that he made against the Germans. After arriving at that part of the low countries opposite to Britain, he received into his protection a fugitive prince of that island, and sent pompous letters to the senate, giving an account of the happy conquest of the whole kingdom. Some time after, making the soldiers fill their helmets with pebbles and cockleshells, which he called the spoils of the ocean, he returned to the city to demand a triumph; and, when that honour was denied him by the senate, he fell into the most extravagant cruelties. He was so far from entertaining any desire to benefit the public, that he often complained of his ill fortune, because no signal calamity happened in his time; and made it his constant wish, that either the utter destruction of an army, or some plague, famine, earthquake, or other extraordinary desolation might continue the memory of his reign to succeeding ages. He had another more comprehensive wish, that all the Romans had but one neck, that he might strike it off at one blow. His common phrase was, "Let them hate me, so they fear me."

The luxuries of former princes were simplicity itself, when compared to those which Caligula practised. He contrived new ways of bathing, where the richest oils and most precious perfumes were exhausted with the utmost profusion. He found out dishes of immense value, and had even jewels, as we are told, dissolved among his fauces. He sometimes had services of pure gold presented before his guests instead of meat, observing, "*That a man should be an œconomist or an Emperor.*"

The expensive manner in which he maintained his horse will give some idea of his domestic œconomy. He built it a stable of marble, and a manger of ivory. Whenever this animal, which he called *Incitatus*, was to run, he placed sentinels near its stable, the night preceding, to prevent its slumbers from being broken. He appointed it an house, furniture, and a kitchen, in order to treat all its visitors with proper respect. The Emperor sometimes invited *Incitatus* to his own table, presented it with gilt oats, and wine in a golden cup. He often swore by the safety of his horse; and it is said he would have appointed it to the consulship, had he not been prevented by death.

His behaviour compelled his subjects to cut him off, for the security of their own persons, after a short reign of three years, ten months, and eight days. "Nature seemed to have
" brought

"brought him forth," says a philosophic writer, "to show what was possible to be produced; from the greatest vice supported by the greatest authority *."

As soon as the death of Caligula was made public, it produced the greatest confusion in all parts of the city. The conspirators, who only aimed at destroying a tyrant, without attending to a successor had all sought safety by retiring to private places.

The senate assembled, in the capitol, to debate about extinguishing the name and family of the Cæsars, and restoring the commonwealth to the old constitution. But one of the soldiers, who were employed to ransack the palace, lighting accidentally upon Claudius, uncle to the late Emperor, who had hid himself in a corner behind the hangings, pulled him out to the rest of his gang, and recommended him as the fittest person in the world to be Emperor. All were much pleased at the motion; and taking him along with them by force, they lodged him among the guards. But, as they could not agree among themselves, and the multitude cried out for one governor, they were at last obliged to confirm the election of the soldiers. To this they were the less averse, because they had pitched upon such an easy A. D. 42. prince, as would be wholly at their command and disposal.

The conquest of Britain was the most remarkable act of his time, owing partly to an expedition which he made in person; but chiefly to the valour of his officers.

The Britons, under their king Caractacus, were the most formidable opponents the Roman generals had ever yet encountered. This brave barbarian not only made a gallant defence, but often seemed to claim a doubtful victory. Having removed the seat of war into the most inaccessible parts of the country, he kept the Romans in continual alarm, for nine years. The Britons, however, being at last entirely routed, the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners; and he seeking refuge from Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, was treacherously delivered up to the conquerors. When he was brought to Rome, nothing could exceed the curiosity of the people to behold a man who had, for so many years, braved the power of the empire. On his part, he testified no marks of base dejection; but, as he was led through the streets, happening to observe the splendour of every object around him; "Alas," cried he, "how is it possible, that people possessed of such magnificence at home, could think of envying Caractacus an humble cottage in Britain!" When he was brought before the Emperor, while the other

* Seneca.

captives sued for pity, with the most abject lamentations, Caractacus stood before the tribunal with an intrepid air, and seemed rather willing to except of pardon than meanly solicitous of suing for it. Claudius had the generosity to pardon him, and he returned into Britain.

Men of narrow capacities and feeble minds, are only good or evil, as they happen to fall into the hands of virtuous or vicious guides; and, unhappily for him, his directors were, to the last degree, abandoned and infamous. The chief of these was his wife, Messalina, whose name is almost become a common appellation to women of abandoned characters. However, she was not less remarkable for her cruelties than her lusts, as by her intrigues she destroyed many of the most illustrious families of Rome.

Incited by many of the principal men of Rome, Camillus, the lieutenant-governor of Dalmatia, openly rebelled against Claudius, and assumed the title of Emperor. The cruelty of Messalina and her minions, upon this occasion, seemed to have no bounds. They so wrought upon the Emperor's fears and suspicions, that numbers were executed without trial or proof; and scarce any, even of those who were but suspected, escaped, unless by ransoming their lives with their fortunes.

Among the number who were put to death on this occasion, I cannot help mentioning the pathetic catastrophe of Petus, and his faithful wife Arria. Cecina Petus was one of those unfortunate men, who joined with Camillus against the Emperor; and who when his associate was slain by the army, had endeavoured to escape into Dalmatia. However, he was there apprehended, and put on board a ship, in order to be conveyed to Rome. Arria, who had been long the partner of his affections and misfortunes, entreated his keepers to be taken in the same vessel with her husband. "It is usual," she said, "to grant a man of his quality a few slaves, to dress, and undress, and attend him; but I will perform all these offices, and save you the trouble of a more numerous retinue." Her fidelity, however, could not prevail. She therefore hired a fisherman's bark, and thus kept company with the ship in which her husband was conveyed through the voyage. They had an only son, equally remarkable for the beauty of his person, and the rectitude of his disposition. This youth died at the time his father was confined to his bed by a dangerous disease. The affectionate Arria, however, concealed her son's death, and in her visits to her husband testified no marks of sadness. Being asked how her son did, she replied, that he was at rest; and only left her husband's chamber to give a vent to her tears. When Petus was condemned to die,

die, and the orders were that he should put an end to his own life, Arria used every art to inspire him with resolution; and, at length, finding him continue timid and wavering, she took the poniard, and stabbed herself in his presence, presented it to him, saying, "It gives no pain, my Petus."

Messalina, upon the discovery of her illicit amours, laid violent hands upon herself; when Claudius married Agrippina, the daughter of his brother Germanicus. Her chief aim now was to gain the succession in favour of her son Nero, and to set aside the claims of young Britannicus, son to the Emperor and Messalina. For this purpose she married Nero to the Emperor's daughter, Octavia, a few days after her own marriage. Her next care was to increase her son's popularity, by giving him Seneca for a tutor. This excellent man, by birth a Spaniard, had been banished into the island of Corsica by Claudius, upon the false testimony of Messalina, who had accused him of adultery with Julia, the Emperor's niece. The people loved and admired him for his genius, but still more for his strict morality; and a part of his reputation, therefore, devolved to his pupil.

Agrippina, being one day told by an astrologer, that Nero would be Emperor, and yet the cause of her death; "Let him kill me," answered she, "provided he reigns*." In order to make room for him, she resolved to poison her husband. The poison was given the Emperor among mushrooms, a dish he was particularly fond of. Shortly after having eaten, he dropt down insensible; but this caused no alarm, as it was usual with him to sit eating till he had stupified all his faculties, and was obliged to be carried to his bed from the table. His constitution, however, seemed to overcome the effects of the poison, when Agrippina directed an abandoned physician, who was her creature, to thrust a poisoned feather down his throat, under pretence of making him vomit; which soon put a period to his life.

The reign of this Emperor, feeble and impotent as it was, produced no great calamities in the state, since his cruelties were chiefly levelled at those about his person. The list of the inhabitants of Rome, at this time, amounted to six millions eight hundred and forty thousand souls; a number equal, perhaps, to two thirds of all the people of England, at this day. In such a concourse, it is not to be doubted but every virtue and every vice must come to their highest pitch of refinement; and, in fact, the conduct of Seneca seems an instance of the former, and that of Messalina of the latter. However, the general character of the times was that of cor-

* Occidet dum imperat.

ruption and luxury; for wherever there is a great superfluity of wealth, there will also be seen a thousand vicious modes of exhausting it. The military spirit of Rome, though much relaxed from its former severity, still continued to awe mankind; and though, during this reign, the world might be justly said to be without a head, yet the terror of the Roman name alone kept mankind in their obedience.

Nero, though but seventeen years of age, began his reign with the general approbation of mankind. While he continued to act by the counsels of Seneca, his tutor, and Burrhus his general, his government has always been considered as a model for succeeding princes. A famous Emperor * used to say, "That for the first five years of this prince, all other governments came short of his." In fact, the young monarch knew so well how to conceal his innate depravity, that his nearest friends could scarcely perceive his virtues to be assumed. He appeared just, liberal, and humane. When a warrant for the execution of a criminal was brought to him to be signed, he was heard to cry out, with a seeming concern, "Would to Heaven that I had never learned to write."

Afterwards, however, he acted in so cruel and ridiculous a manner, that his name is odious to this day. He wantonly took away the lives of the best and wisest persons, not sparing his tutor Seneca, nor even his own mother. It is said, that he set fire to the city of Rome, and took delight to see it burn. He stood upon an high tower, during the continuance of the flames, enjoying the sight, and repeating, in a player's habit, and in a theatrical manner, some verses upon the destruction of Troy. As a proof of his guilt upon this occasion, none were permitted to lend any assistance towards extinguishing the flames; and several persons were seen setting fire to the houses, alledging, that they had orders for what they did. However this be, the Emperor used every art to throw the odium of so detestable an action from himself, and to fix it upon the Christians, who were at that time gaining ground in Rome. Nothing could be more dreadful than the persecution raised against them upon this false accusation. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts; and, in that figure, devoured by dogs. Some were crucified, and others burnt alive. "When the day was not sufficient for their tortures, the flames in which they perished served to illuminate the night †;" while Nero, dressed in the habit of a charioteer, regaled himself with their tortures from his gardens; and entertained the people at one time with their sufferings, at another with the circus-games. In this persecution, St. Paul

* Trajan.

† Tacitus.

was beheaded; and St. Peter was crucified with his head downwards; which death he chose, as being more dishonourable than that of his divine master. The inhuman monster, conscious of being suspected of burning the city, in order to free himself from the scandal, took great care to rebuild it even with greater beauty than before.

Nero's subjects having groaned under his tyranny fourteen years, and not able to endure it longer, put an end both to that and his life at once.

The rejoicings at Rome, upon his death, were as great as those upon his accession. All persons came running into the streets to congratulate each other upon the death of the tyrant; dressed in the manner of slaves, who had been just set free.

Sergius Galba, who was then in Spain with his legions, was chosen Emperor by the soldiers, A. D. 69, and confirmed by the senate. His great age and his severity were the causes of his ruin; the first of which rendered him contemptible, and the other odious. In order to appease the people he adopted *Piso*. But *Otho*, who had expected that honour, and was now enraged at his disappointment, upon application to the soldiers, easily procured the murder of the old prince and his adopted son. In this manner was he advanced to the imperial dignity.

Otho, however, did not reign long; for, *Vitellius* making head against him, three battles were fought between them, in which *Otho* was victorious; but, in the fourth, he was defeated and laid violent hands on himself, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

Aulus Vitellius, returning^d victor to Rome, was saluted Emperor by the senate. His luxury and A. D. 70. cruelty soon made him so odious, that the people rebelled against him; and, after treating him with the vilest indignities, threw his dead body into the Tiber, after a short reign of eight months and five days. An elegant biographer* compares this Emperor, and his two predecessors, "to the kings in tragedies, who just appear upon the stage, and then are destroyed."

Vitellius was the only tyrant, who entered upon his command with cruelty. *Nero* and *Caligula* gave the beginnings of their reign to mercy and justice. But this monster was first advanced for his vices; began his government with cruelty; continued it with universal detestation; and died, to the satisfaction of all mankind.

* Plutarch.

C H A P XLIII.

Vespasian.—Siege of Jerusalem.—Obstinacy and Distress of the besieged.—The Temple taken and burnt.—The Sanctuary rifled by Titus.—Jerusalem raised to the Ground.

A. D. 70. **V**ESPASIAN rose by his merit from a mean original, and at an advanced age, to the Empire. He was declared Emperor by the unanimous consent, both of the senate and the army; and messengers were dispatched to him in Egypt, requesting his presence at Rome, and testifying the utmost desire for his government. Before he set out, he gave his son Titus the command of the army that was to lay siege to Jerusalem; while he went forward, and was met many miles from Rome by all the senate, and near half the inhabitants, who gave the sincerest testimonies of their joy, in having an Emperor of so great and experienced virtues. Nor did he, in the least, disappoint their expectations; being equally assiduous in rewarding merit, in reforming the manners of the citizens; and setting them the best example in his own.

In the mean time, Titus carried on the war against the Jews with vigour. This obstinate and infatuated people had long resolved to resist the Roman power, vainly hoping to find protection from Heaven, which their impieties had utterly offended. Their own historian * represents them, as arrived at the highest pitch of iniquity; while famines, earthquakes, and prodigies, all conspired to forebode their approaching ruin. Nor was it sufficient that heaven and earth seemed combined against them; they had the most bitter dissensions among themselves; and were split into two parties, which robbed and destroyed each other with impunity; still pillaging, and, at the same time, boasting their zeal for the religion of their ancestors.

At the head of one of those parties was an incendiary, whose name was John. This fanatic affected sovereign power, and filled the whole city of Jerusalem, and all the towns around, with tumult and pillage. In a short time, a new faction arose, headed by one Simon, who gathering together multitudes of robbers and murderers, who had fled to the mountains, attacked many cities and towns, and reduced all Idumea under his power. Jerusalem, at length, became the theatre in which these two demagogues began to exercise their mutual animosity; John was possessed of the temple while

* Josephus.

Simon was admitted into the city; both equally enraged against each other; while slaughter and devastation followed their pretensions. Thus did a city, formerly celebrated for peace and unity, become a seat of tumult and confusion.

It was in this miserable situation, when Titus encamped before it with his conquering army, and began his operations about six furlongs from the place. It was at the feast of the passover, when Jerusalem was filled with an infinite number of people, who had come from all parts to celebrate that great solemnity, that Titus undertook to besiege it. His presence produced a temporary reconciliation between the contending factions within; so that they unanimously resolved to oppose the common enemy first, and then decide their domestic quarrels at a more convenient season. Their first sally, which was made with much fury and resolution, put the Romans into great disorder, and obliged them to abandon their camp and fly to the mountains. However, rallying immediately after, the Jews were forced back into the city; whilst Titus in person shewed surprising instances of valour and conduct.

These advantages over the Romans, only renewed in the besieged their private vengeance. A tumult ensued in the Temple, in which several of both parties were slain. And in this manner, upon every remission from without, the factions of John and Simon violently raged against each other within; agreeing only in their resolution to defend the city against the Romans.

Jerusalem was strongly fortified by three walls on every side, except where it was fenced by deep vallies. Titus began by battering down the outward wall, which, after much fatigue and danger, he effected; all the time shewing the greatest clemency to the Jews, and offering them repeated assurances of pardon. But this insatuated people refused his proffered kindness with contempt, and imputed his humanity to his fears. Five days after the commencement of the siege, Titus broke through the second wall, and though driven back by the besieged, he recovered his ground, and made preparations for battering the third wall, which was their last defence. But first he sent Josephus, their countryman, into the city to exhort them to yield, who using all his eloquence to persuade them, was only reviled with scoffs and reproaches. The siege was, therefore carried on with greater vigour than before; and several batteries for engines were raised, which were no sooner built, than they were destroyed by the enemy. At length it was resolved in council, to surround the whole city with a trench, and thus prevent all relief and succours from abroad. This, which was quickly executed, seemed no
way

way to intimidate the Jews. Though famine and pestilence, its necessary attendant, began now to make the most horrid ravages within the walls, yet this desperate people still resolved to hold out. Though obliged to live upon the most scanty and unwholesome food, though a bushel of corn was sold for six hundred crowns, and the holes and sewers were ransacked for carcases, that had long since grown putrid, yet they were not to be moved. The famine raged at last to such an excess, that a woman of distinction in the city, boiled her own child, and ate it. When this horrid account came to the ears of Titus, he declared that he would bury so abominable a crime in the ruins of their state. In consequence of this resolution, he cut down all the woods within a considerable distance of the city, and causing more batteries to be raised, at length battered down the wall, and in five days entered the citadel by force. Thus reduced to the very verge of ruin, the remaining Jews still deceived themselves with absurd and delusive expectations, while many false prophets imposed upon the multitude, declaring, they should soon have assistance from God. The heat of the battle was now, therefore, gathered round the inner wall of the Temple, while the defendants desperately combated from the top. Titus was anxious to save this beautiful structure, but a soldier casting a brand into some adjacent buildings, the fire communicated to the Temple; and notwithstanding the utmost endeavours on both sides, the whole edifice was quickly consumed. The sight of the Temple in ruins effectually served to damp the ardour of the Jews. They began to perceive that Heaven had forsaken them, while their cries and lamentations echoed from the adjacent mountains. Even those who were almost expiring, lifted up their dying eyes to bewail the loss of their temple, which they valued more than life itself.

Titus having entered the sanctuary, or most holy place, found such rich and sumptuous utensils and other wealth, as even exceeded all that had been told him of it. Out of the former he saved the golden candlestick, the table of shew-bread, the altar of perfumes, all of pure gold, and the book or volume of the law wrapped up in a rich gold tissue. After he came out of the sacred place, some other soldiers set fire to it, and then plundered it, tearing off the gold plating of the gates and timber-work, and carrying off every thing of value they could find. An horrid massacre followed soon after, in which a great many thousands perished, some by the flames, others by the fall from the battlements, and a greater number by the enemy's sword, none of any age, sex, or quality, being spared by the enraged soldiers, who did not cease
burning

burning and butchering till they had destroyed all except two of the Temple gates, and that part of the court which was destined for the women. The Jews, in memory of this destruction, keep a solemn fast on the ninth of the month Ab, answering in part to our August, which lasts full twenty-four hours; during which time they neither eat, drink, nor use the least refreshment.

The most resolute of the Jews still endeavoured to defend the upper and stronger part of the city, named Sion, but Titus with his battering engines, soon made himself entire master of the place. John and Simon were taken from the vaults where they had concealed themselves; the former was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the latter reserved to grace the conqueror's triumph. The greatest part of the populace were put to the sword, and the city was entirely razed by the plough; so that according to our Saviour's prophecy, not one stone remained upon another. Thus, after a siege of six months, this noble city was totally destroyed, having flourished, under the peculiar direction of Heaven, above two thousand years. The numbers who perished in this siege, amounted to "above a million of souls, and the captives to almost an hundred thousand*." The temporal state of the Jews ended with their city; while the wretched survivors were banished, sold, and dispersed into all parts of the world.

Upon the taking of Jerusalem, the soldiers would have crowned Titus as conqueror, but he modestly refused the honour, alledging, that he was only an instrument in the hand of Heaven, which manifestly declared its wrath against the Jews. At Rome, however, all men's mouths were filled with the praises of the conqueror, who had not only shewed himself an excellent general, but a courageous combatant; his return, therefore, in triumph, in company with his father, was marked with all the magnificence and joy that was in the power of men to express. All things that were esteemed valuable or beautiful among men, were brought to adorn this great solemnity. Among the rich spoils were exposed vast quantities of gold, taken out of the Temple; but the Book of the Holy Law was not the least remarkable among the magnificent profusion. This was the first time that ever Rome saw the father and the son triumph together. A triumphal arch was erected upon this occasion, on which were described all the victories of Titus over the Jews. It remains almost entire to this day. Vespasian likewise built a Temple to Peace, wherein were deposited

* Josephus.

most of the Jewish spoils ; and having now calmed all commotions in every part of the empire, he shut up the temple of Janus, which had been open about five or six years.

Vespasian having thus given security and peace to the empire, resolved to correct numberless abuses, which had grown up under the tyranny of his predecessors. He began with restraining the licentiousness of the army. He ordered a young officer to be broke for being perfumed, declaring he had rather he had stunk of garlick. When some military messengers desired money to buy shoes, he ordered them, for the future, to perform their journies barefoot. He abridged the processes which had been carried to an unreasonable length, in the courts of justice.

He settled a constant salary of an hundred thousand sesterces upon the teachers of rhetoric. Quintilian, the orator, and Pliny, the naturalist, flourished in his reign, and were highly esteemed by him.

He was no less an encourager of all other excellencies in art ; and invited the greatest masters and artificers from all parts of the world, making them considerable presents, as he found occasion.

Vespasian having reigned ten years, loved by his A. D. 79. subjects, and deserving their affection, died a natural death, and was peaceably succeeded by Titus his son.

“ He was a man, in whom power made no alteration, except in giving him the opportunity of doing good equal to his will *.

* Pliny.

C H A P. XLIV.

Titus.—Dreadful Eruption of Mount Vesuvius.—Fire and Plague at Rome.—Domitian.—Story of Appollonius Tyaneus.—Nerva.—Trajan.—Plutarch's Letter to Trajan.—Remarkable Expression of the same Emperor.—Strength of the Roman Empire impaired by its extent.—Reign of Adrian.—Variety of his Endowments.—One of his Maxims.—He visits his whole Empire.—His Remark with Regard to Physicians.—The Stanzas he addressed to his departing Soul.

VESPASIAN, perhaps, did not more oblige the world by his own reign than by leaving so admirable a successor as his son Titus, who, from his goodness was called the *Delight of Mankind*. One night at supper, calling to mind, that he had not, during the day, granted a favour to any man, he exclaimed, "Alas! my friends, we have lost a day." He gave sufficient proof of his courage in the siege of Jerusalem, and might have met with as good success in other parts, had he not been prevented by death, to the universal grief of mankind. On perceiving his approaching dissolution, he declared, that, during his life, he knew but one action of which he repented; and that action he did not think proper to express. He expired shortly after, but not without suspicion of treachery from his brother Domitian, who had long wished to govern. In his reign an eruption of Mount Vesuvius did considerable damage, overwhelming many towns, and sending its ashes into countries more than an hundred miles distant. Upon this memorable occasion, Pliny, the naturalist, lost his life; for being compelled by too eager a curiosity to observe the eruptions, he was suffocated in the flames. Among other cities, which were destroyed by this dreadful eruption, were Pompeii and Herculaneum; the ruins of which last have been since discovered.

There happened also about this time a fire at Rome, which continued three days and nights successively, being followed by a plague, in which ten thousand men were buried in a day.

The love which all ranks of people bore to his brother, facilitated the election of Domitian, A. D. 81. notwithstanding the ill opinion many had already conceived of him. He so far degenerated from the

two excellent examples of his father and brother as to seem more desirous of copying Nero or Caligula; and accordingly he met with their fate, being murdered by some of his nearest relations. The senate, in detestation of his memory, ordered his name to be rased out of all public acts.

What some writers relate concerning Apollonius Tyaneus, who was then at Ephesus, is almost incredible. This person, whom some call a magician, and some a philosopher, but who more probably was nothing more than an impostor, just at the minute in which Domitian was slain, was lecturing in one of the public gardens of the city. But stopping short, all of a sudden he cried out, "Courage, Stephanus, strike the tyrant." And then, after a pause—"Rejoice, my friends, the tyrant dies this day; this day do I say! the very moment in which I kept silence he suffers for his crimes—he dies!"

The truth seems to be, that a belief in omens and prodigies was again become prevalent. The people were relapsing into their pristine barbarity. A country of *ignorance* is ever the proper soil for an *harvest* of imposture.

Nerva had scarcely accepted the purple from A. D. 97. the assassins of Domitian, before he discovered that his feeble age was unable to stem the torrent of public disorders, which had multiplied under the long tyranny of his predecessor; after a short reign of sixteen months, he adopted Trajan his successor, a prince possessed A. D. 98. of every talent and virtue that can adorn a sovereign.

The great qualities of his mind were accompanied with all the advantages of person. His body was majestic and vigorous; he was at that middle time of life, which is happily tempered with the warmth of youth, and the caution of age, being forty-two years old. To these qualities were added, a modesty that seemed peculiar to himself; so that mankind found a pleasure in praising those accomplishments of which the possessor seemed no way conscious. Upon the whole, Trajan is distinguished as the greatest and best emperor of Rome. Others might have equalled him in war, and some might have been his rivals in clemency and goodness; but he seems the only prince who united these talents in the greatest perfection, and who appears equally to engage our admiration, and our regard.

One of the first lectures he received, respecting his conduct in governing the empire, was from Plutarch, the philosopher, who had the honour of being his master. Upon his arrival at Rome, he is said to have written him a letter to the following purpose: "Since your merit, and not your im-
portunities,

"opportunities, have advanced you to the empire, permit me to congratulate your virtues, and my own good fortune. If your future government prove answerable to your former worth, I shall be happy. But if you become worse for power, yours will be the danger, and mine the ignominy of your conduct. The errors of the pupil will be charged upon his instructor. Seneca is reproached for the enormities of Nero; and Socrates and Quintilian have not escaped censure for the misconduct of their respective scholars. But you have it in your power to make me the most honoured of men by continuing what you are. Go on to command your passions; and make virtue the scope of all your actions. If you follow these instructions, then will I glory in having presumed to give them; if you neglect what I offer, then will this letter be my testimony, that you have not erred through the counsel and authority of Plutarch."

It would be tedious and unnecessary to enter into a detail of this good monarch's labours for the state. His application to business, his moderation to his enemies, his modesty in exaltation, his liberality to the deserving, and his frugality in his own expences, have been the subject of panegyric among his contemporaries, and continue to be the admiration of posterity.

Upon giving the prætorian bands the sword, according to custom, he made use of this remarkable expression: "Take this sword, and use it; if I have merit, for me; if otherwise, against me." After which he added, *That he who gave laws was the first who was bound to obey them.*

How highly he was esteemed by his subjects, appears from their manner of congratulating his successors, upon their accession to the government. "We wish you," said they, *"the fortune of Augustus, and the goodness of Trajan."* He died in the sixty-third year of his age, after a reign of nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days.

The Roman empire was never so large, nor so formidable to the rest of the world, as when he left it. And yet its strength was much impaired; for being spread over so great an extent of territory, it wanted the invigorating principle of patriotism among its subjects, to inspire them in its defence. Its bulk, therefore, seemed rather a symptom of its disease than its vigour.

The successor of Trajan was Adrian, his nephew, under whom the government flourished in peace A.D. 117. and prosperity. He was one of the most remarkable of the Roman emperors for the variety of his endowments.

He

He composed with great beauty, both in prose and verse; he pleaded at the bar, and was one of the best orators of his time. He was deeply versed in the mathematics, and no less skilful in physic. In drawing and painting, he was equal to the greatest masters. He was an excellent musician, and sung to admiration. Besides these qualifications, he had an astonishing memory. He knew the names of all his soldiers, though never so long absent. He could dictate to one, confer with another, and write himself, all at the same time.

His moderation and clemency appeared, by pardoning the injuries which he had received, when he was a private man. One day meeting a person, who had formerly been his most inveterate enemy, "My good friend," said he, "you have escaped, for I am made emperor."

It was one of his maxims, that an emperor ought to imitate the sun, which diffuses warmth and vigour over all parts of the earth. He, therefore, prepared to visit his whole empire. Having taken with him a splendid court, and a considerable force, he entered the province of Gaul, where he numbered all the inhabitants. From Gaul he went into Germany, from thence to Holland, and then passed over into Britain. There he reformed many abuses, and reconciled the natives to the Romans. For the better security of the northern parts of the kingdom, he built a wall of wood and earth, extending from the river Eden, in Cumberland, to the Tyne, in Northumberland, in order to prevent the incursions of the Picts, and other northern nations. After travelling into Greece, he passed over into Asia Minor, from whence he directed his course into Syria. He then entered Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt, where he caused Pompey's tomb, which had been long neglected, and almost covered with sand, to be repaired and beautified.

He resided in Africa for some time, and erected many magnificent buildings. Among the rest, he ordered Carthage to be rebuilt; calling it, after his own name, Adrianople.

Adrian, having spent thirteen years in travelling through his dominions, resolved, at length, to return and end all his fatigues at home. There he amused himself in conversing with philosophers, and the most celebrated men in every art and science; who did not fail to grant him that superiority he seemed so eagerly to affect. Favorinus, a man of great reputation at court for philosophy, happening one day to dispute with him upon some philosophical subject, acknowledged himself to be overcome. His friends blamed him for thus giving up the argument, when he might easily have pursued it with success: "What," replied Favorinus, "would

"would you have me contend with a man, who is master of
"thirty legions?"

Adrian, finding the duties of his station daily increasing, and his own strength proportionally decreasing, resolved upon adopting a successor, whose merits might deserve, and whose courage would secure, his exaltation. After many deliberations, he made choice of Lucius Commodus, whose bodily infirmities rendered him unfit for a trust of such importance. Of this, after some time, Adrian seemed sensible, declaring, that he repented of having chosen so feeble a successor; and saying, That he had leaned against a mouldering wall. However, Commodus soon after dying, the Emperor immediately adopted Titus Antoninus, afterwards surnamed the Pious; but previously obliged him to adopt two others, namely, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, all of whom afterwards succeeded to the empire.

In his last illness, he could not be prevailed upon to observe any regimen, often saying, "*That kings died merely by the multitude of their physicians.*" It was probably joy at the approach of death, which dictated the celebrated stanzas, so well known, in repeating which he expired:

Animula vagula blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis;
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.

"Oh fleeting spirit, wandering fire,
"That long has warm'd my tender breast,
"Wilt thou no more my frame inspire!
"No more a pleasing cheerful guest?
"Whither, ah! whither art thou flying,
"To what dark, undiscovered shore?
"Thou seem'st all trembling, shivering, dying,
"And wit and humour are no more."

Epictetus the philosopher, Plutarch, Suetonius, Florus, Arrian, and Philo flourished at this period.

ligion. Notwithstanding this victory the war continued for some months longer; but after many violent conflicts, the Barbarians sent to sue for peace. The Emperor imposed conditions upon them, more or less severe, as he found them more or less disposed to revolt.

He afterwards retired for some time to a country seat, where, by the study of philosophy, he delighted his mind, and regulated his conduct. He usually called it his mother, in opposition to the court, which he considered as his step-mother. He was also frequently heard to say, "That the people were happy, whose philosophers were kings, or whose kings were philosophers."

Aurelius was one of the most considerable men of the age, in which he lived. His meditations, which have reached our times, are highly commended by the ancients, and much approved by the moderns, as an epitome of the best rules that human reason or philosophy can suggest, for the conduct of a virtuous life.

As this emperor was a great encourager of learning, many eminent writers flourished in his reign; among whom were Justin, Appian, and Lucian.

Before his Scythian expedition, the people, whose love to the emperor daily increased, finding him making preparations to leave them, and resolved to expose himself in a dangerous war, assembled before his palace, beseeching him not to depart, till he had given them instructions for their future conduct; so that if it should please Heaven to deprive them of his presence, they might, by his assistance, continue in the same paths of virtue, into which he had led them by his example. This was a request, which this truly great emperor was highly pleased in obeying. He spent three whole days in giving them short maxims, by which they might regulate their lives; and, having finished his lectures, departed upon his expedition, amidst the prayers and lamentations of all his subjects.

Not long after, he was seized with the plague at Vienna, which stopped the progress of his arms. Nothing, however, could abate his desire of being beneficial to mankind; for tho' his submission to the will of Providence made him meet the approaches of death with tranquillity, his fears for the youth and unpromising disposition of Commodus, his son and successor, seemed to give him great uneasiness, and aggravated the pangs of his dissolution. Struggling with this apprehension, and fluctuating between hope and fear, he addressed his friends and the principal officers that were gathered round his bed; telling them, "That as his son was going to lose
" a father,

"a father, he hoped he would find many fathers in them; that they would direct his youth, and give him proper instructions for the public benefit, as well as his own." He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having reigned nineteen years and some days.

All the glory and prosperity of the Roman empire seemed to die with Aurelius. We are now to behold a train of emperors either vicious or impotent, either wilfully guilty, or unable to assert the dignity of their station. We are to behold an empire grown too great, sinking by its own weight, surrounded by barbarous and successful enemies without, and torn by ambitious and cruel factions within; the principles of the times wholly corrupted; philosophy attempting to regulate the minds of men without the aid of religion; and the warmth of patriotism entirely evaporated, by being diffused in too wide a circle. We shall still further find the people becoming dull, as they grow impotent; their historians cool and lifeless in the most interesting narrations; and the convulsions of the greatest empire upon earth, described in childish points, or languid prolixity.

C H A P. LXVL

Miscellaneous Remarks.

THE first founder of imperial government had derived from a mean family in the little town of Aricia, the appellation of Octavius. As the adopted son of his uncle he had assumed the surname of Cæsar; but the former was stained with the sanguinary proscriptions of the triumvirs, and the latter too strongly revived the memory of the inordinate ambition of the dictator. After a very serious discussion in the senate, the title of Augustus was chosen for, and acknowledged by him; it was expressive of the character of peace and sanctity which he uniformly affected. But the personal title of Augustus expired not with the prince on whom it was bestowed, or the family name of Cæsar with the line to which it originally belonged. These appellations were soon inseparably connected with the imperial dignity, and preserved by a long succession of emperors; yet a distinction was introduced, and the sacred title of Augustus was reserved for the monarch, whilst the name of Cæsar was

more freely communicated to his relations, and generally appropriated to the presumptive heir of the empire.

Augustus, cool and unfeeling, had early assumed the mask of hypocrisy, which he never afterwards laid aside. Equally without resentment or humanity, his virtues and even his vices were artificial. According to the various dictates of his interest he was the enemy or the father of the Roman world. The same motives which induced him voluntarily to proffer the resignation of his power, prompted him to profess a respect for a free constitution. The people were deceived by the idea of civil government; and his fears persuaded him to conceal beneath the pretended garb of moderation the invidious dignity of imperial authority. The fate of Cæsar continually presented itself to his view; the fidelity of the legions might defend him from the open indignation of avowed conspiracy, but no vigilance could protect him against the secret dagger of assassination. The ostentatious display of power had provoked the destruction of his uncle. The consul or tribune might have exercised his authority in peace, but the title of king insulted the remnant of republican spirit; and Augustus, whilst he coveted the power, dreaded the fate and avoided the indiscreet arrogance of his kinsman. The illusive representation of freedom satisfied a feeble senate and enervated people; and the subsequent deaths of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian were prompted not by a motive of liberty, but a principle of self-preservation. The execution of Caligula by the manly resolution of Chærea seemed for a moment to revive the dying embers of freedom. The consuls convoked the senate in the capitol; they condemned the memory of the Cæsars, and gave the watch-word liberty to the few cohorts who faintly embraced their cause. But the ferocious temper of the Prætorian guards soon extinguished the hasty spark of republicanism; and this dream of liberty served only to exercise the moderation of Claudius, who generously pardoned a conduct he was able to punish, but which he was prudent enough to despise.

A greater degree of danger was to be dreaded from the precarious affection and alarming insolence of the armies. In the acquisition of his authority, Augustus had injured them to the violation of every social duty. The Roman emperors, however, had yet suffered but little from the caprice of the legions. The knowledge of their dispositions induced them to invest their successors with a considerable share of present authority. Augustus rested his last hopes on Tiberius; he adopted him as his son, and procured for him the censorial and tribunitian power. Vespasian associated in the empire, a prince whose amiable character turned the public attention
from

from the origin to the glory of the Flavian house; the virtues of Titus justified the confidence of the emperor, and secured during his short reign the transient felicity of the Roman world.

The advanced and feeble age of Nerva promoted the election of Trajan; and the weakness of the emperor was counterbalanced by the vigour of his successor. The equitable administration and martial achievements of Trajan, at this distant period, excite our reverence and admiration; but no inconsiderable share of praise is due to the patriotism of Nerva, who in calling a stranger to the succession, preferred the interests of the empire to the pretensions of consanguinity. Adrian possessed himself of that power which the penetration of Trajan must at least have reluctantly bequeathed him. He reformed the laws, supported military discipline, and visited every province in person. The premature death of Ælius Verus soon after he was advanced to the rank of Cæsar, preserved the dignity of the empire, and secured its happiness in the appointment of the Antonines. The son of Verus was adopted by the gratitude of Pius, and on the accession of Marcus invested with an equal share of the imperial power; but his reverence for the political capacity of his colleague confined him to the indulgence of private vices, and a perseverance in excess terminated the dissolute career of a short life, which though not likely to conduce to, had never been permitted to interrupt the happiness of the Roman world. Antoninus Pius was near fifty, and Marcus about seventeen when first elevated by the discernment of Adrian above the condition of private life, and though Pius had two sons, he gave his daughter Faustina in marriage to Marcus, obtained for him from the senate the tribunitian and proconsular powers, and associated him to all the labours and honours of empire. Marcus revered the character of his benefactor; he loved him as a parent, he obeyed him as a sovereign; and the forty-two years which comprized the extent of their united reigns, is perhaps the only period in which the welfare of the people was the sole object of government. The love of religion, justice, and peace characterised Titus Pius; in private life he was amiable and unaffected, and the chearful serenity of his temper evinced the benevolence of his soul. The virtues of Marcus Aurelius were of a severer kind; formed in the rigid school of the Stoics, he assumed a steady controul over his passions, and considered virtue as the only good, vice, as the only evil. Amidst the tumult of a camp, his mind was exercised in meditation, and he even condescended to impart the philosophy he cultivated; but his life was the noblest comment on the precepts of Zeno; severe and in-

flexible towards himself he was mild to the failings of others, and lamented that Avidius Cassius, the author and leader of a rebellion, had by a voluntary death withdrawn himself from his mercy. Though he regretted the calamities, and detested the ferocious features of war, he readily exposed himself to the dangers of it, nor was he deterred by the severity of the climate from enduring, on the frozen banks of the Danube, the hardships of eight winter campaigns. But the weakness of his constitution was inferior to the strength of his mind, and his body sunk at length beneath the accumulated pressure of incessant fatigue; yet his memory was revered by a grateful people, and his image, long after his death, was frequently preserved among those of the household gods.

C H A P. XLVII,

Commodus—His Tyranny—Pertinax—Why called the Tennis-ball of Fortune.—The Empire exposed to sale—Didius Julianus—His laconic Speech to the Senate—Is beheaded.—Severus—His despotic Government—His Expedition into Britain, where he builds a wall.—Caracalla and Geta divide the Empire.—Geta assassinated.—Caracalla murdered.—Macrinus.—Heliogabalus,—His Female Senate.—His prodigality.—Alexander's excellent Disposition.—His Death.—Maximin.—His gigantic size, and extraordinary appetite.—His Tyranny.—His Death.—Pupienus, Balbinus, and Gordian put to death—Phillip celebrates the Secular Games.—Is killed by a Sentinel.

A. D. 186. **T**HE merits of Antoninus paved the way to the throne for Commodus; who was acknowledged Emperor, first by the army, then by the senate and people, and shortly after by all the provinces. But though he owed the empire to the adoption of his supposed father, many were of opinion, that he was the spurious issue of a gladiator; his own conduct afterwards, and the wanton character of his mother Faustina, having, perhaps, given rise to the report.

“ If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the

the accession of Commodus, * a wretch, in whose mould every sentiment of virtue and humanity was extinct. This hated tyrant, after having oppressed his subjects thirteen years, perished by poison, given him by his favourite concubine Marcia.

The vacant throne was instantly filled by Pertinax, præfect of the city, an ancient senator, A. D. 192. of consular rank, whose conspicuous merit had broke through the obscurity of his birth, and raised him to the first honours of the state. The hasty zeal of this virtuous prince to reform the corrupted state, proved fatal to himself and his country. The soldiers dreading the strictness of the ancient discipline, which he was preparing to restore, and regretting the licentiousness of the former reign, raised a general sedition; when, on the eighty-sixth day only after the death of Commodus, Pertinax fell by the hand of one of his guards.

From the number of his adventures, he was called the *Tennis-ball of Fortune*: and certainly no man ever experienced such a variety of situations, with so blameless a character.

The empire was now openly exposed to sale by the prætorian guards, and purchased by Didius Julianus. Upon being conducted to the senate- A. D. 192. house, he addressed the few senators who were present, in a very laconic speech. *Fathers, you want an emperor, and I am the fittest person you can choose.* But even this, short as it seems, was unnecessary, since the senate had it not in their power to refuse their approbation. His speech being backed by the army, to whom he had given about a million of our money, succeeded. The choice of the soldiers was confirmed by the senate, and Didius was acknowledged emperor.

The provinces revolted; and new competitors offering their claims, Severus the highest bidder, was hailed Augustus, and Didius Julianus was beheaded by a sentence of the Senate, as a common criminal, after having purchased, with an immense treasure, an anxious and precarious reign of only sixty-six days.

Having obtained the purple by means of cruelty and bloodshed, Severus secured himself A. D. 193. in the government, by inculcating the principles of despotism, and passive obedience. His will was the law of the empire. The senate no longer possessed the shadow of authority in the civil and military department;

so that Severus may be considered as the principal author of the decline of the Roman empire. He made an expedition into Britain, in order to complete the long-attempted conquest of that island. In pursuing the enemy, his army suffered most dreadful hardships. They were obliged to hew their way through intricate forests, to drain extensive marshes, and form bridges over rapid rivers; so that he lost fifty thousand men by fatigue and sickness. However, he surmounted all these difficulties with unremitting ardour; and prosecuted his successes with such vigour, that he compelled the enemy to sue for peace; which he granted upon their surrendering a considerable part of their country, together with all their arms and military preparations.

Having thus given peace to Britain, for its better security he built that famous wall, which still goes by his name, extending from Solway Frith, on the west, to the German ocean on the east. It was eight feet broad, and twelve feet high, planted with towers, about a mile distant from each other, and communicating by pipes of brass in the wall, which conveyed instructions from one garrison to another with incredible dispatch.

Severus died at York, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and in the eighteenth of a successful reign.

From this period the Roman empire gradually decayed, being harassed on all sides by powerful invaders, and convulsed by the furious contests of domestic foes.

On the death of Severus, Caracalla and A. D. 211. Geta, his sons, agreed to divide the empire.

Such a divided form of government would have proved a source of discord between the most affectionate brothers. It was impossible that it could long subsist between two implacable enemies. It was visible that one only could reign, and that the other must fall. The unfortunate Geta was assassinated, and Caracalla, after a series of cruelties, was murdered in the sixth year of his reign. Such was the end of a monster, whose life disgraced human nature.

After the death of Caracalla the Roman world remained three days without a master. The prætorian guards considered the power of bestowing it as almost a legal claim. The prudence of Adventus, the senior præfect, rejected the dangerous pre-eminence, and they were induced reluctantly to grant it to the crafty Macrinus, whom they neither loved nor esteemed. Heliogabalus, the natural son of Caracalla, soon supplanted him, and he was put to death, after a short reign of one year and two months.

Heliogabalus was priest of a temple dedicated to the sun, in Emesâ, a city of Phœnicia; A. D. 218. and though but fourteen years old, was greatly loved by the army, for the beauty of his person, and the memory of his father, whom they still considered as their greatest benefactor.

He was so partial to the ladies, that he built a senate-house for women, with suitable orders, habits, and distinctions, of which his mother was made president. All their debates turned upon the fashions of the day, and the different formalities to be used at giving and receiving visits *.

His prodigality was so boundless, that he always dressed in cloth of gold and purple, enriched with precious stones, and never wore the same habit twice. He was often heard to say, that such dishes as were cheaply obtained, were scarce worth eating. His suppers, therefore, generally cost six thousand crowns, and often sixty thousand.

Having been persuaded by his grand-mother to adopt his cousin, Alexander, as his successor, Heliogabalus was soon after put to death by the soldiers, who threw his body into the Tiber, with heavy weights, that none might find it in order to give it burial.

Alexander was declared emperor without opposition. The senate, with their usual adulation, A. D. 212. wished to confer new titles upon him; but he modestly declined them all, alledging, that titles were then only honourable, when given to *merit* not to *station*. His liberality endeared him to the army, his virtues to the senate. But though he possessed the titles and powers of imperial dignity, it was soon perceived, that the reins of government were held by the hands of two women, his mother Mæmæa, and his grandmother Mæsa. This was the cause of his ruin. The soldiers openly exclaimed, that they were governed by an avaricious woman, and a mean-spirited boy, and resolved upon electing an emperor, capable of ruling alone. Maximin, an old experienced commander, held conferences with the soldiers, and inflamed the sedition. At length, being determined to dispatch their present emperor, they sent an executioner who immediately struck off his head; and shortly after that of his mother. He died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a prosperous reign of thirteen years and nine days; his death proving, that neither virtue nor justice can guard us against the misfortunes of this life; and that good men are to expect their reward in a place of more equitable distribution.

Maximin, who had been the chief promoter of Alexander's death, was chosen emperor. He was a peasant of

* Hooke.

Thrace, and, in the progress of the Emperor Severus through that province, was first elevated to royal notice, and approbation. His strength and skill displayed in wrestling and running, procured him permission to enlist among the troops; and his valour and strict attention to discipline advanced him, during the reign of Severus and his son, to the rank of centurion.

He was of a gigantic size, being no less than eight feet and an half high; and, it is said, that he generally ate forty pounds of flesh every day, and drank six gallons of wine.

His mind, uncultivated by literature, his appearance unpolished by the arts of civil life, were contrasted with the amiable manners of the unhappy Alexander; and the tyrant, conscious of his own deficiencies, and depending on the attachment of his soldiers, persecuted with unrelenting cruelty the rest of mankind. Desirous of extirpating the remembrance of his original obscurity, he confounded in the same indiscriminate ruin, those who had spurned at his humbler fortunes, with those who had relieved his distress and assisted his rising hopes. Magnus a consular senator, was accused of conspiring against him. Without even the form of a trial, Magnus was put to death, and four thousand of his supposed accomplices involved in his fate. The nobility of Rome, who had governed provinces, who had commanded armies, and triumphed as consuls, were sewed up in the hides of slaughtered animals, exposed to wild beasts, and beaten to death with clubs. From his camp on the Rhine or Danube, (for he scorned to visit Italy or Rome) he issued, in the language of despotism, the unfeeling dictates of sanguinary barbarism, and trampled on every principle of law or justice, supported by the avowed power of his sword. As long as the cruelty of Maximin was confined to the senators of Rome, or the courtiers who attended him, the body of the people regarded it with indifference; but their resentment was aroused as soon as the avarice of the tyrant attacked public property.

Being superseded by the election of Pupienus and Babinus, as joint Emperors, he passed the Alps, and entering Italy, he approached the city of Aquileia, which he was astonished to find prepared for the most obstinate resistance, and resolved to hold out a regular siege. His first attempt was to take the city by storm; but the besieged threw down such quantities of scalding pitch and sulphur upon his soldiers, that they were unable to continue the assault. He then determined upon a blockade; but the inhabitants were so resolute, that even the old men and children were seen combating upon the walls, while the women cut off their hair, to furnish the soldiers with bow-strings. Maximin's rage, at this unexpected opposition,

position, was now ungovernable. Having no enemies to wreak his resentment upon, he turned it against his own commanders. He put many of his generals to death, as if the city had held out through their neglect or incapacity, while famine made great depredations upon the rest of his army.

He was soon after slain in his tent, after a reign of three years and a few days. His son, whom he had associated in his power shared the same fate. The gates of Aquileia were thrown open to his destroyers, and the head of Maximin on a spear was borne in triumph through the streets.

His assiduity, when in a humble station, and his cruelty, when in power, serve to evince, that there are some men, whose virtues are fitted for obscurity; as there are others, who only shew themselves great when placed in an exalted station.

Pupienus and Balbinus, as well as Gordian, came to an untimely end; and the last mentioned Emperor fell by the hands of one to whom he had been a benefactor. His appointment of Philip, by birth an Arab, and by profession a robber, to the præfecture, proved fatal to the life and power of Gordian. The boldness of the new præfect aspired to the throne; the minds of the soldiers were irritated by artificial scarcity, and the arms, which ought to have defended, were turned against their master. By a sentence of the soldiers, he was stripped and led away to death, and a small monument on the banks of the river Aboras, attested A. D. 244- the spot of his execution, after a reign of scarce six years.

Philip caused the secular games to be celebrated, with a magnificence superior to any of his predecessors, it being just a *thousand* years from the building of the city. At this time, we are told, both Philip and his son were converted to Christianity. A murderer, however, and an ungrateful usurper, does no great honour to whatever opinion he may happen to embrace.

The army, soon after, revolting in favour of Decius, one of the sentinels, at a blow, cut off Philip's head, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and after a reign of about five years.

C H A P. XLVIII.

Decius.—The Christians are persecuted.—Invasion of the Goths and Vandals.—Decius loses his Life in a Quagmire.—Gallus agrees to pay Tribute to the Goths.—Valerian defeated by the Persians, and taken Prisoner.—Various Character of Gallienus.—His reign is marked by accumulated Calamities.—Claudius defeats the Goths.—Remark of one of the Gothic Generals respecting Books.—Character of Claudius.—Aurelian defeats Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra and the East.—His Vow.—Longinus put to death.—Aurelian assassinated.

A. D. 248. **P**HILIP having met with the fate he deserved, Decius was universally acknowledged as his successor, whose activity seemed, in some measure, to stop the hastening decline of the Roman empire. Nothing, however, could now prevent the approaching downfall of the state. The obstinate disputes between the Pagans and the Christians within the empire, and the unceasing irruptions of barbarous nations from without, enfeebled it beyond the power of a remedy. To stop these, a persecution of the Christians, now the most numerous body of the people, was impolitically, as well as unjustly, begun; in which thousands were put to death, and all the arts of cruelty tried in vain to lessen their growing numbers.

This persecution was succeeded by dreadful devastation from the Goths, particularly in Thrace and Mæsia, where they had been most successful. These barbarians deduced their origin from the vast island, or peninsula, of Scandinavia; and the name of the Goths is now lost in that of the Swedes.

In the Edda, a system of mythology compiled in Iceland, about the thirteenth century, we distinguish two persons con-founded under the name of Odin, the god of war, and the great legislator of Scandinavia. The latter instituted a religion adapted to the climate and people, and subdued numerous tribes on either side the Baltic. But though some faint tradition is preserved of a Scandinavian origin, we must not expect any strict account of the time and circumstances of their emigration. To cross the Baltic, the inhabitants of Sweden possessed sufficient vessels, and the distance from Carlscroon to the nearest ports of Prussia and Pomerania exceeds not an hundred miles. From the commencement of the Christian æra to the age of the Antonines, the Goths were established towards the mouth of the Vistula. Westward of the Goths, the numerous tribes of Vandals spread along the banks of the Oder; and a resemblance of manners and language seems to indicate

indicate that the Vandals and the Goths were originally one people. About the reign of Alexander Severus, the province of Dacia experienced the destructive fury of the Goths in their inroads, whose arms were turned against the milder regions of the south; and the march of the barbarians increased their numbers with the bravest warriors of the Vandalic states.

The Goths were now in possession of the Ukraine, a country of considerable extent and uncommon fertility. The size of the cattle, the temperature of the air, the aptness of the soil for every species of grain, and the luxuriance of the vegetation, all displayed the liberality of nature, and tempted the industry of man; but the Goths withstood all these temptations, and still adhered to a life of poverty and rapine.

The Scythian hords towards the east, presented the doubtful chance of unprofitable victory; the Roman territories were far more alluring. Bursting through the province of Dacia, the barbarians extorted a considerable ransom from Marcianopolis, the capital of the second Mæsia. The invaders retreated with their booty, to return with double force. These irruptions Decius went to oppose in person, and coming to an engagement with them slew thirty thousand of these barbarians in one battle. Being resolved however, to pursue his victory, he was by the treachery of Gallus, his own general, led into a defile, where the king of the Goths had secret information to attack him: In this disadvantageous situation, Decius first saw his son killed with an arrow, and soon after his whole army totally put to the rout. Wherefore, resolving not to survive the loss, he put spurs to his horse, and instantly plunging into a quagmire, was swallowed up, and his body could never be found.

Gallus, who had thus betrayed the Roman army, had address enough to get himself declared A. D. 253: Emperor by that part of it which survived the defeat. He was the first who bought a dishonourable peace from the enemies of the state, agreeing to pay a considerable annual tribute to the Goths, whom it was his duty to repress. Having thus purchased a short relaxation from war, by the disgrace of his country, he returned to Rome, and followed his pleasures, regardless of the wretched situation of the empire.

The state of the Roman provinces, at that time, was very deplorable. The Goths, and other barbarous nations, not satisfied with their late bribes to continue in peace, broke in like a torrent, upon the eastern parts of Europe. On the other side, the Persians and Scythians committed unheard of ravages in Mesopotamia and Syria. The Emperor, regardless

less of every national calamity, was lost in sensuality at home; and the Pagans were allowed a power of persecuting the Christians through all parts of the state.

Æmilianus Gallus's general, having gained a victory over the Goths, was proclaimed Emperor by his conquering army. Upon hearing this, Gallus, being roused from the intoxication of pleasure, prepared to oppose his dangerous rival. Both armies met in Mæsia, and a battle ensued in which Æmilianus was victorious, and the profligate Gallus was slain. His death was merited, and his vices were such, as to deserve the detestation of posterity.

The senate having refused to acknowledge A. D. 253: Æmilianus as Emperor, an army that was stationed near the Alps, chose Valerian, their own commander, to succeed to the throne, who set about reforming the state with a spirit that seemed to mark a good heart and a vigorous mind. But reformation was then grown almost impracticable. The disputes between the Pagans and Christians divided the empire as before, and a dreadful persecution of the latter ensued. The northern nations over-ran the Roman dominions in a more formidable manner than ever, and the empire began to be usurped by a multitude of petty leaders, each of whom neglecting the general interest of the state, set up for himself. To add to these calamities, the Persians, under their king Sapor, invaded Syria, and coming into Mesopotamia, took the unfortunate Valerian prisoner, as he was making preparations to oppose them. Nothing can exceed the indignities, as well as the cruelties, which were practised upon this unhappy monarch, thus fallen into the hands of his enemies. Sapor, we are told, always used him as a foot-stool for mounting his horse; he added the bitterness of ridicule to his insults, and usually observed, that an attitude like that to which Valerian was reduced, was the best statue that could be erected in honour of his victory.

In this abject situation he lived for some years; and when he died, his body, by Sapor's order, was flayed, and preserved in salt. His skin was dressed, dyed red, and exposed in a temple, where, to the eternal ignominy of the Roman name, it was shown to all foreign princes and ambassadors, as a monument of the power of the Persian monarch.

When Valerian was taken prisoner, his son, Galienus, promising to revenge the insult, was chosen Emperor; but he soon discovered, that he sought rather the splendour than the toils of empire. It is not easy to describe the various character of this prince; he was a ready orator; an elegant poet, a skilful gardener, an excellent cook, and a most contemptible sovereign. When the reigns of government were held

held by so weak a hand; it is not surprising that a crowd of usurpers should distract the provinces; but the revival of the thirty tyrants of Athens, in the state of Rome, is rather the child of an ingenious fancy, than the offspring of truth.

But the provinces of Rome were not only doomed to experience the invasions of barbarians, and the usurpations of tyrants; the reign of Galienus is marked by accumulated calamities. In Sicily, troops of banditti, and a licentious crowd of slaves and peasants, reigned over the plundered country, and intercepted the revenue of the capital. In Alexandria, the inhabitants, abandoned to the rage of their passions, maintained a civil war within the city; and for twelve successive years, every street was polluted with blood, and every building of strength was converted into a citadel. A long and general famine, the consequence of rapine and oppression, depopulated the provinces and cities of Rome; and a furious plague, which commenced in the year two hundred and fifty, and continued for fifteen years to rage throughout the whole extent of the Roman empire, casts an additional gloom over this period of disgrace and calamity.

Galienus, having led an army to besiege the city of Milan, which had been taken by one of the usurping tyrants, was there slain by his own soldiers, Martian one of his generals having conspired against him.

The origin of Claudius, who was nominated to succeed Galienus, was obscure, but his merit A. D. 268. had attracted the favour of Decius. He was a man of great valour and conduct, equally remarkable for the strength of his body and the vigour of his mind. He was chaste and temperate, a rewarder of the good, and a severe punisher of such as transgressed the laws. Thus endowed, therefore, he in some measure put a stop to the precipitate decline of the empire, and, once more, seemed to restore the glory of Rome.

The first labour of Claudius was to revive in his troops a sense of order and obedience; and after painting to them the exhausted state of the empire, and the mischiefs arising from their own lawless caprice, he declared, he intended to point the first effort of their arms against the hostile powers of the rapacious barbarians.

These barbarians had made their principal and most successful irruptions into Thrace and Macedonia. They swarmed over all Greece, and had pillaged the famous city of Athens, which had long been the school of all the polite arts to the Romans. The Goths, however, had no veneration for these embellishments, which tend to soften and humanize the mind, but destroyed all monuments of taste and learning with the most savage alacrity. It was upon one of these occasions, that

having heaped together a large pile of books, in order to burn them, one of their commanders dissuaded them from the design, alledging, *That the time which the Grecians should waste on books, would only render them more unqualified for war.* But the empire seemed to tremble, not only on that side, but almost in every quarter. At the same time, above three hundred thousand of these barbarians (the Heruli, the Trutangi, the Virtugi, and many nameless and uncivilized nations) came down the river Danube, with two thousand ships, fraught with men and ammunition, spreading terror and devastation on every side.

In this state of universal dismay, Claudius, alone, seemed to continue unshaken. He marched his disproportioned army against the savage invaders, and though but ill prepared for engaging with them, as the forces of the empire were then employed in different parts of the world, he came off victorious, and made an incredible slaughter of the enemy. The whole of their great army was either cut to pieces or taken prisoners; houses were filled with their arms, and scarce a province of the empire that was not furnished with slaves, from those that survived the defeat.

These successes were followed by many others in different parts of the empire; so that the Goths, for a considerable time, made but a feeble opposition.

The reign of Claudius was active and successful; and such is the character given of him by historians, that he is said to have united in himself, the moderation of Augustus, the valour of Trajan, the piety of Antoninus, and all the virtues of the good princes who had reigned before him.

Longinus and Porphyry flourished at this time.

Immediately after the death of Claudius the
A. D. 270. army made choice of Aurelian, who was at that time master of the horse, and esteemed the most valiant commander of his time. Being soon after universally acknowledged by all the states of the empire, he assumed the government with a greater share of power than his predecessors had enjoyed for some time before.

The Franks, and Batavians were compelled to repass the Rhine, and the power of Aurelian was established in tranquillity from the wall of Antoninus to the columns of Hercules.

He then turned his arms against Zenobia, the queen of Palmyra and the East. This extraordinary woman claimed her descent from the Macedonian kings of Egypt; her beauty was only to be equalled by her understanding, her chastity by her valour; she possessed in equal perfection the Greek, the Syriac, and the Egyptian languages, and had compared the
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the merits of Homer and Plato under the tuition of the sublime Longinus.

Odenathus, who had raised himself from a private station to the dominion of the East, courted and obtained her hand, and his success was in a great measure ascribed to her prudence. They twice pursued the Persian monarch to the gates of Ctesiphon; but the Palmyrenian prince invincible in war, fell a victim to domestic treason, and was assassinated in the midst of a great entertainment, by his nephew Maëonius, who had scarce time to assume the title of Augustus before he was sacrificed by Zenobia to the memory of her husband.

Zenobia had long disclaimed the Roman power and established an empire of her own. To oppose this extraordinary woman, Aurelian led his army into Asia and surmounting all the obstructions that were opposed against him, he at length sat down before Tyana, a city of Cappadocia; which seemed resolved to hold out against him, and actually, for some time, stopped his progress. The unexpected obstinacy of the besieged served not a little to enrage the Emperor, who was naturally precipitate and furious. He vowed, that upon taking the city, he would so punish the inhabitants, as not to leave a dog alive among them. After some time the city was taken: and when his whole army expected the plunder of so wealthy a place, and reminded him of his former protestations, he restrained their impetuosity, and only ordered all the dogs in the place to be destroyed. He afterwards pretended that he was restrained from satiating his resentment on the inhabitants, by an apparition of the famous Apollonius, that warned him not to destroy his birth-place. This excuse was no doubt fictitious, but we can easily pardon falsehood, when it is brought to the assistance of humanity.

From Tyana he marched to meet the enemy, who waited his approach, near the city of Emesa in Syria. Both armies were very powerful and numerous; the one trained up under the most valiant leader of his time; the other led on by a woman, who seemed born to control the pride of man. The battle was long and obstinate, victory for some inclined to the side of the Asiatics; but the perseverance of Aurelian's generals, at last, carried the day. The enemy was defeated, and Zenobia was obliged to flee to Palmyra for safety. She prepared for a vigorous defence, and declared the last moment of her reign should be the last of her life.

Palmyra, situated amid the barren deserts of Arabia, derives its name from the multitude of adjacent palm-trees;

the purity of the air, and some valuable springs which watered the soil, first preferred it to notice. The situation between the gulph of Persia and the Mediterranean, rendered it convenient to the caravans; and Palmyra, by the elevation of Odenathus and Zenobia, was exalted into a temporary rival of Rome.

The Emperor pursuing Zenobia to this city, did all in his power to induce her to submission; but the haughty queen refused his proffered terms of life and security with scorn, relying on the succours which she expected from the Persians, the Saracens, and the Armenians. However, Aurelian's diligence surmounted every obstacle; he intercepted the Persian auxiliaries and dispersed them; the Saracens shared the same fate; and the Armenians were, by plausible promises, induced to espouse his interest: Thus Zenobia, deceived in her expected succours, and despairing of relief, attempted to fly into Persia; but was taken by a chosen body of horse sent to pursue her. The city of Palmyra likewise submitted to the conqueror.

The conduct of Zenobia when captive, diminished her former fame. She implored the mercy of Aurelian, acknowledged the guilt of resistance, and imputed it to the counsels of her secretary, Longinus, the celebrated critic. The unlettered mind of Aurelian was not to be moved by genius or learning, the unhappy minister was doomed to immediate execution; but the fame of Longinus will survive that of the queen who betrayed him, and the Emperor who condemned him.

Zenobia was reserved to grace the Emperor's triumph: to whom he afterwards behaved with a generous clemency. She was presented with an elegant villa at Tivoli, her daughters married into noble families, and her race was not extinct in the fifth century.

Historians give us the following account of his death. Menestheus, his principal secretary, having been threatened by him, for some fault which he had committed, began to consider how he might prevent the premeditated blow. For this purpose he forged a list of the names of several persons, whom he pretended the Emperor had marked out for death, adding his own, to strengthen him in the confidence of the party. The scroll, thus contrived, was shown with an air of the utmost secrecy to some of the persons concerned; and they, to procure their safety, immediately agreed with him to destroy the Emperor. This resolution was soon put into execution, for as the Emperor passed with a small guard, from Uraceæ, in Thrace, towards Byzantium, the conspirators set upon him, and slew him with very little resistance.

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The people, in his death, lamented a great and fortunate prince, the army regretted a warlike commander, and the state lost a useful though severe reformer.

Aurelian is generally stiled the *Restorer of the Empire*, which, after the misfortunes that it had suffered by the captivity of Valerian, and the indolence of Galienus, began to revive under Claudius, and was, in some measure, restored to its former lustre by Aurelian.

He is said to have been the first Roman Emperor that dared to appear in public with a diadem on his head. Some of the succeeding princes followed his example in that respect; but that royal ornament was not commonly worn till the time of Constantine.

C H A P. XLIX.

Tacitus, when made Emperor, gives his Estate to the Public. Works of Tacitus, the Historian, greatly honoured, by him. Achievements of Probus.—Carus and his two Sons.

TACITUS, a man of great merit, and a relation of Cornelius Tacitus, the celebrated historian, succeeded Aurelian in the empire. A. D. 275.

When he ascended the imperial throne, he gave his estate to the public, and his money to the soldiers. He was extremely temperate, fond of learning, and the memory of such men as had deserved well of their country. The works of Tacitus, in particular, were greatly honoured by him. He commanded that they should be placed in every public library throughout the empire, and that many copies of them should be transcribed at the public charge.

A reign begun with such moderation and justice, only wanted continuance, to have made the empire happy; but after enjoying the empire about six months, he died of a fever, in his march to oppose the Persians and Scythians, who had invaded the eastern parts of the empire.

Florianus, the brother of Tacitus, instantly usurped the purple, without awaiting the approbation of the senate. Probus, the heroic general of the east, declared himself the avenger of the insulted authority of that assembly. Though the effeminate troops of Syria appeared unequal to encounter the hardy legions of Europe, yet the activity of Probus triumphed

umphed over every obstacle. The veterans of his rival sickened in the sultry heats of Cilicia; and Florianus after enjoying the imperial title about three months, fell at Tarsus a sacrifice to the contempt of his soldiers.

The victorious Probus was, with Claudius and Aurelian, descended from a race of peasants in Illyricum; like his warlike predecessors, he had risen by military merit. Africa and Pontus, the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, and the Nile, by turns had witnessed his personal prowess and conduct in war.

As every year produced new calamities to the empire, and fresh irruptions on every side threatened universal desolation; perhaps, at this time, no abilities, except those of Probus, were capable of opposing such united invasions. He hastened with an army to repress the Germans in Gaul, of whom he slew four hundred thousand. He then marched into Dalmatia, to oppose and subdue the Sarmatians. From thence he led his forces into Thrace, and compelled the Goths to sue for peace. The king of Persia submitted at his approach; and upon his returning to Europe, he divided the depopulated parts of Thrace among its barbarous invaders.

The rebellion of Bonosus and Proculus, the former celebrated for his prowess in the combats of Bacchus, and the latter in those of Venus, was speedily crushed. The leaders sunk beneath the superior genius of Probus, but their adherents experienced his mercy. Bonosus, who was so remarkable a votary of Bacchus, that he could drink as much wine as ten men, without being disordered, upon his being defeated, hanged himself in despair. Probus, when he saw him, immediately after his death, could not avoid pointing at the body, and saying, "There hangs, not a man, but a bottle." But still, notwithstanding every effort to give quiet to the empire, the barbarians, who surrounded it, kept it in continual alarms. They were frequently repulsed to their native wilds, but they as duly returned with fresh rage and increased ferocity. The Goths and Vandals, finding the Emperor engaged in quelling domestic disputes, renewed their accustomed inroads, and once more felt the punishment of their presumption. They were conquered in several engagements, and Probus returned in triumph to Rome.

The discipline, which had been introduced into the camp by Aurelian, was maintained, though with less cruelty, by Probus; the troops were exercised in covering with rich vineyards the hills of Gaul and Pannonia; and an unhealthy tract of marshy ground near Sirmium, where Probus was born, was converted into tillage by their labour; but the
Emperor

Emperor in these works did not sufficiently consult the fierce dispositions of the legionaries ; and an unguarded expression, that on the establishment of a universal peace, he might abolish the necessity of a standing army, proved fatal to him. In one of the hottest days of summer, as he severely urged their toil, the soldiers threw down their tools, grasped their arms, and broke out into a furious mutiny. The Emperor vainly sought refuge in a lofty tower ; the doors were forced, and a thousand swords were plunged into the body of the prince. The rage of the troops was extinguished with his life ; they lamented their rashness, and by an honourable monument they erected, perpetuated the fame of his victories. The following epitaph was inscribed on his tomb :—" Here lies " the Emperor Probus, truly deserving the name, a sub-
" duer of barbarians, and a conqueror of usurpers."

Upon the death of Probus, Carus, then captain of the guards, was proclaimed Emperor by the army, who, in order to strengthen his authority, united his two sons, Carinus and Numerian, with him in command ; the former of whom was as much sullied by his vices, as the younger was remarkable for his virtues, modesty, and courage.

The new Emperor had scarce time to punish the murderers of the late monarch, when he was alarmed by a fresh irruption of the Sarmatians, over whom he gained a signal victory. The Persian monarch also made some attempts upon the empire ; but Carus assured his ambassadors, that if their master persisted in his obstinacy, all his fields should soon be as bare as his own bald head ; which he shewed them. In consequence of this threat he marched to the walls of Ctesiphon ; and a dreadful battle ensuing, he once more gained a compleat victory. What the result of this success might have been, is not known, for he was shortly after struck dead, by lightning, in his tent, with many others who were round him.

Numerian, the youngest son, who accompanied his father in this expedition, was inconsolable for his death, and brought such a disorder upon his eyes, with weeping, that he was obliged to be carried along with the army, shut up in a close litter. The peculiarity of his situation, after some time, excited the ambition of Aper, his father-in-law, who supposed that he could now, without any great danger, aim at the empire himself. He, therefore, hired a mercenary villain to murder the Emperor in his litter ; and, the better to conceal the fact, reported that he was still alive, but unable to endure the light. In this manner was the dead body carried about for some days, Aper continuing to attend it with the utmost appearance of respect, and seeming to take

orders as usual. The offensiveness, however, of its smell, at length discovered the treachery, and excited an universal uproar throughout the army. In the midst of this tumult, Diocletian one of the most noted commanders of his time, was chosen Emperor, and with his own hand slew Aper; having thus, as it is said, fulfilled a prophecy, which declared, that Diocletian should be Emperor after he had slain a boar.

Carinus, the remaining son, did not long survive his father and brother; for giving himself up to his vices, and yet, at the same time, opposing the new-made Emperor, the competitors led their forces into Mæsia, where Diocletian being victorious, Carinus was slain by a tribune of his own army, whose wife he had formerly insulted.

C H A P. L.

Partition of the Empire under Diocletian. — Resignation of Diocletian and Maximian. — Philosophical Turn of Diocletian. — Death of Maximian. — Character of Constantius.

DIOCLETIAN, like Augustus, may be considered as the founder of a new empire. As his reign was more illustrious than that of any of his predecessors, so was his birth more abject and obscure. His parents had been slaves; nor was he himself distinguished by any other name, than that which he derived from a small town in Dalmatia, from whence his mother deduced her origin. A. D. 284. The strong claims of merit procured his elevation.

Conscious that the weight of the empire was too heavy for a single person to sustain, Diocletian took in Maximian, his general, as a partner in the fatigues of duty, making him his equal and companion on the throne. Thus mutually assisting each other, they concurred in promoting the general good and humbling their enemies. And it must be observed, that there never was a period, in which there were more numerous or formidable enemies to oppose.

Dangerous insurrections, being made in Gaul, Egypt, Africa, and Britain, Diocletian was of opinion, that the empire, assailed on every side, required on every side the presence of an Emperor. He, therefore, resolved again to divide his power, and with the inferior title of Cæsar, to confer

confer on two generals, of approved merit, an equal share of the sovereign authority. Galerius and Constantius were the two persons invested with the second honours of the imperial purple. The manners, country and extraction of Galerius were the same as those of Maximian: the birth of Constantius excelled that of his colleagues; his father was a considerable noble of Dardania, and his mother a niece of the Emperor Claudius. A youth spent in arms, had not changed a disposition naturally mild and amiable. To strengthen the bonds of this union, each of the Emperors assumed the character of a father to one of the Cæsars; Diocletian to Galerius, Maximian to Constantius; and each, obliging them to repudiate their former wives, bestowed his daughter in marriage on his adopted son. The defence of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was entrusted to Constantius; the banks of the Danube to Galerius; Italy and Africa to Maximian; and Thrace, Egypt, and the rich countries of Asia were reserved to Diocletian. Each was sovereign within his own jurisdiction, and their united authority extended over the whole monarchy. This was a ruinous plan of policy; but such was the disordered state of the empire, that no abilities could apply a proper remedy.

The Persians, having invaded Mesopotamia, were overcome in a decisive engagement, their camp plundered and taken, and the king's wives and children made prisoners of war.

The northern Germanic nations still remained unsubdued. These were utterly unconquerable, as well upon account of their savage fierceness, as the inhospitable severity of the climate and soil from whence they issued. Constantly at war with the Romans, they made irruptions, when the armies, sent to repress their invasions, were called away; and upon their return, they as suddenly withdrew into their cold, barren, and inaccessible retreats, which only themselves could endure. In this manner the Scythians, Goths, Sarmatians, Alani, Carpi, and Quadi, poured down in incredible numbers; while every defeat seemed but to increase their strength and perseverance. Of these, multitudes were taken prisoners, and sent to people the more southern parts of the empire: still greater numbers were destroyed; and though the rest were driven back to their native forests, yet they continued ever mindful of their inveterate enmity, and like savage beasts, only remained inactive, till they had licked their wounds for a new encounter.

During this interval, as if the external miseries of the empire were not sufficient, the tenth and last persecution was renewed against the Christians. This is said to have exceeded

ceeded all the former in feverity; and such was the zeal with which it was pursued, that in an ancient inscription, we are informed, that the government had effaced the name and superstition of the Christians, and had restored and propagated the worship of the Gods. Their attempts however, were but the malicious efforts of an expiring party; for Christianity soon after was established by law, and triumphed over the malice of all its enemies.

In the midst of the trouble, raised by this persecution, and of the contests that struck at the external parts of the state, Diocletian and Maximian surprised the world by resigning their dignities on the same day, and both retiring into private stations. Historians are much divided concerning the motives that thus induced them to give up those honours which they had purchased with so much danger. Some ascribe it to the philosophical turn of Diocletian; and others, to his being disgusted with the obstinacy of his Christian subjects; but a judicious writer * says he was compelled to it, as well as his partner, by Galerius, who coming to Nicomedia upon the Emperor's recovery from a great sickness, threatened him with a civil war, in case he refused to resign. Of this, however, we are well assured, that he still preserved a dignity of sentiment in his retirement, that might induce us to believe he had no other motive but virtue for his resignation. Having retired to his birth-place, he spent his time in cultivating his garden, assuring his visitors that then only he began to enjoy the world, when he was thought by the rest of mankind to have forsaken it. Some of his friends attempting to persuade him to resume the empire; he replied, that if they knew his present happiness, they would rather endeavour to imitate than disturb it. In this contented manner he lived for some time, and at last died either by poison or madness; but this is uncertain. His reign, which continued twenty years, was active and useful. His authority, being tinctured with severity, was well adapted to the depraved state of morals at that time.

Maximian, his partner in the empire, and in resignation, was by no means so well contented with his situation. He longed once more for power, and disturbed the two succeeding reigns with vain efforts to resume it; attempting to engage Diocletian in the same design. Being obliged to leave Rome, where he had occasioned great confusion, he went over into Gaul, where he was kindly received by Constantine, then acknowledged Emperor of the west. But there also continuing his intrigues, and endeavouring to force his

* Lactantius,

own daughter to destroy her husband, he was detected, and condemned to die by whatever death he should think proper. Lactantius tells us, that he chose to die by hanging.

As soon as Diocletian and Maximian had resigned the purple, their station was filled by A. D. 304. the two Cæars, Galerius and Constantius, who immediately assumed the title of Augustus.

The character of Constantius was truly amiable. He was frugal, chaste, and temperate. Being one day reproached by Diocletian's ambassadors, for his poverty, he only intimated his wants to the people; and, in a few hours, the sums presented him amazed the beholders, and exceeded their highest expectations. "Learn from hence," said he then to the ambassadors, "that the love of the people is the richest treasure; and that a prince's wealth is never so safe, as when his people are the guardians of his exchequer."

In the second year of his reign, he went over into Britain, and leaving his son Constantine as a kind of hostage, in the court of his partner in the empire, he took up his residence at York. He there continued in the practice of his usual virtues, till falling sick, he began to think of a successor. Though his son was immediately sent for, Constantius was past recovery before his arrival. He received him, however, with marks of the utmost affection, and, raising himself in his bed, gave him several instructions, particularly recommending the Christians to his protection. He then bequeathed the empire to his care, and crying out, "*That none but the pious Constantine should succeed him,*" he expired in his arms.

C H A P. LI.

Constantine establishes Christianity. — Causes of its Success. — Seat of Empire transferred from Rome to Byzantium.

WHEN Constantine was proclaimed in Britain, his partner, in the empire was so much enraged at his advancement, that he was going to condemn the messenger who brought him the account; but being dissuaded, he seemed to acquiesce in what he could not prevent, and sent him the ensigns of royalty.

After

After the death of Galerius, and the defeat A. D. 311, of several competitors for the throne, Constantine became sole master of the Roman world, when he honoured the senate with his presence, and assured that illustrious order of his sincere regard. Games and festivals were instituted to perpetuate the fame of his victory; but the triumphal arch of the victor still remains a melancholy proof of the decline of the arts. No sculptor was found in the capital, capable of adorning that public monument. The arch of Trajan was stripped of its ornaments; and Parthian figures appear prostrate at the feet of a prince, who never carried his arms beyond the Euphrates.

The final abolition of the prætorian guards succeeded the triumph of Constantine; their fortified camp was destroyed, and the few who had escaped the sword, were dispersed among the legions, and banished to the frontiers.

Constantine, who, some time before, had made a public profession of the Christian religion, now resolved to establish it on so sure a basis, that no revolution should shake it. Edicts were issued, declaring that the Christians should be eased of all their grievances, and received into places of trust and authority; and it was ordained that no criminal should for the future, suffer death by the cross, which had formerly been the usual way of punishing slaves convicted of capital offences. The progress and establishment of the Christian religion was favoured and assisted by several causes. The zeal and virtues of the first Christians, which corresponded with the purity of their doctrines, could not fail to command the veneration of the people, and increase the number of their followers. The doctrine of a future life, and the immortality of the soul, though generally rejected, impressed the minds of the more exalted sages of Greece and Rome. Philosophy pointed out the hope, but divine revelation alone can ascertain the existence of a future state. Eternal happiness, therefore, on evangelical conditions, was accepted by great numbers of every religion, of every rank, and of every province, in the Roman empire.

The activity of the Christians, also, in the government of the church, was marked by a spirit of patriotism, such as had characterised the first of the Romans in the aggrandisement of the republic. The ecclesiastical governors of the christians were taught to unite the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove. In the church, as well as in the world, the persons placed in any public station rendered themselves considerable by their eloquence and firmness,

firmness, by their knowledge of mankind, and by their dexterity in business; and the exertion of these qualifications was advantageously contrasted with the cool indifference of the ministers of Polytheism.

Constantine declared it to be his pleasure, that in all the provinces of the empire the orders of the bishops should be exactly obeyed; a privilege of which, in succeeding times, these fathers made but a very indifferent use. He called also a general council of them, in order to repress the heresies that had already crept into the church, particularly that of Arius. To this place repaired about three hundred and eighteen bishops, besides a multitude of presbyters and deacons, together with the Emperor himself; who all, except seventeen, concurred in condemning the tenets of Arius; who, with his associates was banished into a remote part of the empire.

Having now restored peace through all his imperial dominions, Constantine resolved to transfer the seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium, or Constantinople, as it was afterwards called. Whatever might A. D. 330. have been the reasons which induced him to this undertaking; whether it was because he was offended at some affronts he had received at Rome, or that he supposed Constantinople more in the centre of the empire; or that he thought the eastern parts more required his presence, experience has shown that they were all weak and groundless. The empire had long before been in a most declining state; but this, in a great measure, gave precipitation to its downfall. After this it never resumed its former splendour, but, like a flower transplanted into a foreign clime, languished by degrees, and at length sunk into nothing.

His design was to build a city, which he might make the capital of the world; and for this purpose, he made choice of a situation at Chalcedon in Asia Minor; but we are told, that in laying out the ground-plan, an eagle caught up the line, and flew with it over to Byzantium, a city which lay upon the opposite side of the Bosphorus. Here, therefore, it was thought expedient to fix the seat of empire; and, indeed nature seemed to have formed it with all the conveniences, and all the beauties, which might induce power to make it the seat of residence. It was situated on a plain, which rose gently from the water, and commanded that straight which unites the Mediterranean with the Euxine sea. The climate was healthy, the soil fertile; the harbour was secure and capacious, and the approach on the side of the continent was of small extent, and easy defence.

Five

Five of the seven hills, which, on the approach to Constantinople, appear to rise above each other, were enclosed within the walls of Constantine. The new buildings, about a century after the death of the founder, covered the narrow ridge of the sixth, and the broad summit of the seventh hill; and the younger Theodosius, to protect these suburbs from the inroads of the barbarians, surrounded the whole with adequate walls: yet even including the suburbs of Pera and Galata, which are situated beyond the harbour, the circumference of Constantinople cannot exceed fourteen Roman miles.

To erect an eternal monument to his glories, the Emperor employed the wealth and labour of the Roman world; for the construction of the walls alone were allowed two millions five hundred thousand pounds. But the decline of arts compelled him to adorn his capital with the works of remoter periods; and to gratify his vanity, the cities of Greece and Asia were dispoiled of their most valuable ornaments. Whatever could exalt the dignity of a great city, or contribute to the benefit or pleasure of its numerous inhabitants, was to be found within the walls of Constantinople. A particular description, composed about a century after its foundation, enumerates a capital or school of learning, a circus, two theatres, eight public, and one hundred and fifty-three private baths, fifty-two porticoes, five granaries, eight aqueducts of water, four spacious halls of justice, fourteen churches, fourteen palaces, and four thousand three hundred and eighty eight houses, which for their size or beauty, deserved to be distinguished from the multitude of plebeian habitations.

The population of his favoured city was the next and most serious object of the attention of its founder. The inhabitants of Rome and the more ancient cities of the empire were at first allured or compelled to relinquish their residence; but encouragements and obligations soon became unnecessary; the subjects of the empire were attracted by the seat of government, and Constantinople, in less than a century, was superior to Rome.

Italy indeed was desolated by the change. Robbed of its wealth and inhabitants, it sunk into a state of the most annihilating languor. Changed into a garden by Asiatic pomp, and crowded with villas, now deserted by their voluptuous owners, this once fertile country was unable to maintain itself.

This removal produced no immediate alteration in the government of the empire; the inhabitants of Rome, though with reluctance, submitted to the change; nor was there
for

for two or three years any disturbance in the state, until, at length, the Goths finding that the Romans had withdrawn all their garrisons along the Danube, renewed their inroads, and ravaged the country with unheard-of cruelty. Constantine however soon repressed their incursions, and so straitened them, that near an hundred thousand of their number perished by cold and hunger. These, and some other insurrections, being happily suppressed, the government of the empire was divided as follows: Constantine, the Emperor's eldest son, commanded in Gaul and the western provinces; Constantius, his second, governed Africa and Illyricum; and Constans, the youngest, ruled in Italy. Dalmatius the Emperor's brother, was sent to defend those parts that bordered upon the Goths; and Annibalianus, his nephew, had the charge of Cappadocia and Armenia Minor. This division of the empire still further contributed to its downfall; for the united strength of the state being no longer brought to repress invasions, the barbarians fought with superior numbers, and conquered at last, though often defeated. Constantine, however, did not live to feel these calamities. The latter part of his reign was peaceful and splendid; ambassadors from the remotest Indies came to acknowledge his authority; the Persians, who were ready for fresh inroads, upon finding him prepared to oppose them, sent humbly to desire his friendship and forgiveness.

Thus he enjoyed an uninterrupted flow of private as well as public felicity, till the 30th year of his reign, when he ended his memorable life at the palace of Aquyron, in the suburbs of Nicomedia, whither he had retired for the benefit of the air.

This monarch's character is represented to us in very different lights: The Christian writers of that time adorn it with every strain of panegyric; the heathens on the contrary load it with all the virulence of invective. Nature had been favourable to him both with regard to body and mind. His stature was lofty, his countenance majestic, and his deportment graceful; whilst his adherence to chastity and temperance preserved his constitution to a very late period of life. In dispatch of business he was indefatigable; in the field he was an intrepid soldier and consummate general. He established a religion that continues to be the blessing of mankind, but pursued a scheme of politics that destroyed the empire.

C H A P. LII.

Causes of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

THE power of the prætorian bands increased to such a degree, as to endanger the state. They were instituted by Augustus, as already observed, to guard his person and maintain his usurped dominion. That such a formidable body might not alarm the Roman people, three cohorts only were stationed in the capital, while the rest was dispersed in the adjacent towns of Italy. After the Romans had been accustomed to subjection, Tiberius, under the pretence of relieving Italy from a heavy burthen, and improving the military discipline, assembled them in the city, in a permanent camp.

The armed ministers of despotism frequently overturned that throne which they were intended to support. Introduced into the palace and the Senate, the prætorian bands began to perceive their own strength, and the weakness of the civil government. A succession of emperors, whom they created or dethroned, convinced them, that the supreme power was at their disposal.

To curb the insolence, and balance the power of these formidable bands, Titus, Trajan, and the Antonines, by restoring the influence of the Senate, preserved an intermediate power between them and the army. The image of their ancient freedom was even held up to the people. But Severus, educated in camps, had been accustomed to the despotism of military command. He annihilated the authority of the Senate, and governed by the army. He augmented the guards to four times the ancient number, and recruited them indiscriminately from all the provinces of the empire.

The captain of these troops, amounting to fifty thousand men, was, under the name of Prætorian Præfect, at the head of the army, of the finances, and of the law,

A military government was now established; and every military government fluctuates between the extremes of absolute monarchy and wild democracy.

The emperors now depended on the legions, whose favour they had to secure, and whose avarice they had to gratify by donations and bribes. Oppression and tyranny had

had already pillaged and impoverished the provinces; and, while the expences of the government increased, the revenues of the empire were diminished.

To augment the revenues, Caracalla extended the freedom of the city to the whole Roman world. While Rome and Italy were represented as the centre of government, a national character was preserved. The higher offices in the army were filled by men, who, rising by regular steps through the succession of civil and military honours, possessed influence in the legions, and preserved order in the commonwealth. But, when Caracalla conferred the freedom of Rome on all the subjects of the empire, the national spirit and the Roman character became extinct. The legions were composed of peasants and barbarians, who knew no country but their camp. Rome was no longer the city of Romans. The army were no more the soldiers of their country, but lawless banditti, insatiable of prey. They exposed the empire by public auction to the highest bidder. They elected Emperors, to extort vast sums of money, and dethroned them, to extort equal sums from their successors. In fifty years from the death of Severus, more than fifty emperors were created or murdered, to gratify the avarice or insolence of this military mob.

When Italy and the adjacent provinces were so exhausted that little hopes of plunder remained to the soldiers, ambitious candidates found it more and more difficult to amass sufficient treasure to bribe the legions. The emperors availing themselves of this disposition of the troops, divided the imperial power, to preserve the sovereign authority. Marcus Aurelius had given the example of associating a partner to the throne. This custom was followed by several of his successors; and Dioclesian at last ordained, that two Emperors should govern conjointly, and two Cæsars be appointed their lieutenants and successors.

By this arrangement of Dioclesian, the military anarchy was destroyed; and the armies, commanded by princes who were united in one interest, obeyed.

The tyranny was now transferred from the legions to the prince. Safe from conspirators, and seated on their thrones, the Emperors imitated the pomp and the luxury of an Asiatic court, and committed the government of the empire to favourites, and to women.

The Roman empire was now governed by four princes, who commanded four great armies. The uncommon genius of one man, or the more uncommon concord of the first sovereigns, might give a temporary stability to such

a form of government. But, in the usual course of human affairs, such an heterogeneous body must soon be rent asunder, and fall in pieces. The partition of supreme power creates jealousies and suspicions; and, presenting a constant object to the passions, paves the way for revolutions.

The abdication of Dioclesian shewed that he was the victim of his own policy. His colleague also resigning, the two Cæsars, Galerius, and Constantius, assumed the purple. These fellow-sovereigns soon suspected each other, and broke off all communication, the one governing the East, and the other the West. Two co-ordinate powers, independent of each other, were now established. Hence the origin of the Eastern and the Western empires.

Rome, ceasing to be the seat of empire, was no longer the centre of riches; and Italy, robbed of its wealth, its armies and inhabitants, sunk into a state of languor. Recruits to supply the legions were not now to be found. When the armies disposed of the imperial dignity, the military rank was an object of ambition as well as of avarice. Numerous candidates offered to embrace a profession which led to opulence and power. Hence the empire seemed to resume new strength, under the reigns of Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus.

But when the arrangement of Dioclesian took place, the soldiers had it no longer in their power to dispose the emperors, to plunder the people, or to extort donations from their masters. Their consequence was lost, the military rank was debased, and few were willing to wield the sword.

Galenus had made a law, prohibiting the senators from serving in the army; and from this time the citizens most distinguished by their birth, confined their ambition to civil offices.

From the corruption and effeminacy of the age, the people preferred the secure indolence of poverty to the dangers and fatigues of war. The armies were now filled with peasants and provincials, who were dragged from their families, or bribed into service. Thus the depression of the martial spirit concurred with the decline of the military discipline.

In this feeble and defenceless state, the emperors entered into a treaty with some of the barbarians; on whom they bestowed lands within their own territories, in quality of auxiliaries, and opposed them, as a bulwark, to other barbarians. Without these foreign aids, the Emperors, who succeeded Dioclesian, could form no extensive enterprise.

By

Miscellaneous Remarks.

By this means the barbarians learned the discipline of the Romans, and knew the advantage of a solid establishment.

An empire *founded* by arms must be *supported* by arms. Accordingly, it was the great study of the Romans, in the glowing periods of the Republic, to animate the valour, and perfect the discipline of the legions. When the spirit, which had rendered the legions of the Republic invincible, no longer animated the mercenary subjects of a despotic prince, regulations were made to supply that defect; and laudable arts used to improve the valour and docility of those armies, by which the imperial dominions were to be protected or extended.

When the prætorian bands had assumed the right to dispose of the throne, they created and dethroned emperors at pleasure, and a military anarchy was established. To diminish the military power, Dioclesian and his successors depressed the spirit and corrupted the discipline, which had rendered the army formidable to the sovereign, as well as to his enemies. The vigour of the military government was now dissolved, and the barbarian forces were superior in the military art, as well as in courage, to the Roman armies.

The Romans had subdued the neighbouring nations, and obtained universal monarchy, not only by the art of war, but by their enthusiasm, their policy, their passion for glory, and the love of their country. When these virtues had disappeared under the emperors, and the military art alone survived, this alone, notwithstanding the weakness or tyranny of these princes, enabled them to preserve their dominion. But, when the army were corrupted, and military discipline lost, the *palladium* of Rome was withdrawn, and the empire exposed a prey to all the nations around.

Various causes have been assigned for the immense irruption of barbarians, which poured from the north at this period of time. The *decline* of the Roman Empire which was now visible, and felt among the barbarous nations, was the *true cause* of the invasion of the Roman territories *. The west and north of Europe, as well as the north of Asia, had always been the seat of roving and martial tribes, who were ready on every occasion to shift their abodes, from the desire of more inviting settlements, or the hope of plunder and of glory. The defeat and destruction of the Cimbri by Marius, who, on this account, was stiled the third Founder of Rome; the terror of the Roman name, occasioned by a long series of victories, and the

legions which guarded the frontiers, repressed for a while, the fury of the unconquered nations, and drove to a different direction the torrent of the north. Still, however, a sagacious observer of human affairs might have looked to these regions with anxious forebodings for his country. The philosophical eye of a celebrated historian * saw, from a-far, the nations that were to revenge the cause of mankind, and marked, on the German frontier, the cloud that was to burst in thunder on Rome.

C H A P LIII.

The Destruction of the Roman Empire, after the Death of Constantine, and the Events which hastened its Catastrophe.

HITHERTO the characters of the Roman emperors have been intimately connected with the history of the state: and its rise or decline might have been said to depend on the virtues and vices, the wisdom or the indolence, of those who governed it. But from this dreary period its recovery was become desperate; no wisdom could obviate its fall, no courage oppose the evils that surrounded it on every side. Instead therefore of entering into a minute account of the characters of its succeeding emperors, it will at present suffice to take a general survey of this part of the history, and rather describe the causes by which the state was brought down to nothing, than the persons who neither could hasten nor prevent its decline. Indeed if we were to enter into a detail concerning the characters of the princes of those times, it should be those of the conquerors, not the conquered; of those Gothic chiefs who led a more virtuous and more courageous people to the conquests of nations, corrupted by vice and enervated by luxury.

These barbarians were at first unknown to the Romans, and for some time after had been only incommodious to them. But they were now become formidable, and arose in such numbers, that the earth seemed to produce a new race of mankind, to complete the empire's destruction. They had been increasing in their deserts, amidst regions covered with snow, and had long only waited the opportunity of

* Tacitus;

possessa

possessing a more favourable climate. Against such an enemy, no courage could avail, no abilities be successful. A victory only cut off numbers without an habitation; and tribes soon to be succeeded by others equally desperate and obscure.

The emperors who were destined to contend with this people, were seldom furnished with a sufficient degree of courage or conduct to oppose them. Asia seemed to enervate their manners, and produced a desire to be adored like the monarchs of the East. Sunk in softness, they shewed themselves with less frequency to the soldiers, they became more indolent, fonder of domestic pleasures, and more abstracted from the empire. Constantius, who reigned thirty-eight years, was weak, timid, and unsuccessful; governed by his eunuchs and his wives; and unfit to prop the falling empire.

Julian, his successor, surnamed the Apostate, upon account of his relapsing into Paganism, A. D. 361. was, notwithstanding, a very good and a very valiant prince. By his wisdom, conduct, and œconomy, he chased the barbarians, who had taken fifty towns upon the Rhine, out of their new settlements, and his name was a terror to them during his reign, which lasted but two years.

Jovian and Valentinian had virtue and strength sufficient to preserve the empire from immediately falling under its enemies. No prince saw the necessity of restoring the ancient plan of the empire more than Valentinian. The former emperors had drained all the frontier garrisons, merely to strengthen their own power at home; but his whole life was employed in fortifying the banks of the Rhine, making levies, raising castles, placing troops in proper stations, and furnishing them with subsistence for their support. An event however, which some discerning politicians had foreseen, brought a A. D. 451. new enemy to assist in the universal destruction.

That tract of land which lies between the Palus Mæotis the mountains of Caucasus, and the Caspian Sea, was inhabited by a numerous savage people, who went by the name of the Huns and Alans. Their soil was fertile, and the inhabitants fond of robbery and plunder. The invasion of the Huns impelled the Gothic nation on the provinces of the West. The original principle of motion was concealed in the remote countries of the north; and the latent causes of these emigrations may be illustrated, by considering the tribes of hunters and shepherds, who, in every age, have inhabited the immense plains of Scythia or Tary;

tary; whose active valour has over-turned the thrones of Asia, and spread devastation through the countries of Europe.

The shepherds of the north, too indolent to cultivate the earth, depend for their subsistence on their numerous flocks and herds. These accompany them in their march; and the luxuriant vegetation of the grass in the uncultivated waste affords sufficient pasture for the hardy cattle. The singular taste of the savages of Scythia for horse flesh, facilitates their military operations; in their rapid incursions, the cavalry is always followed by an adequate number of spare horses, which may be used to redouble the speed, or satisfy the hunger of the barbarians. In a hasty march they provide themselves with little balls of hard curd, which they dissolve in water; and this unsubstantial diet will support for many days the life and even spirits of the patient Tartar.

The houses of the Tartars are small oval tents, which afford a promiscuous habitation for both sexes; the palaces of the rich, which consist of wooden huts, may be drawn on a waggon by a team of oxen. As soon as the forage of a certain district is consumed, the tribe marches to fresh pastures; their choice of stations is regulated by the seasons, and the active and restless spirit of the Tartar calculates him habitually for emigration and conquest.

As the Huns imagined it impracticable to cross the Palus Mæotis, they were altogether unacquainted with the Romans; so that they remained confined within the limits their ignorance had assigned them, while other nations plundered with security. It has been the opinion of some, that the slime, which was rolled down by the current of the Tanais, had by degrees formed a kind of incrustation on the surface of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, over which those people are supposed to have passed. Others relate that two young Scythians, being in full pursuit of an heifer, the terrified creature swam over an arm of the sea; and the youths immediately following her, found themselves, as in a new world, upon the opposite shore. On their return, they did not fail to relate the wonders of the strange lands and countries which they had discovered. Upon their information, an innumerable body of Huns passed those straits, and meeting first with the Goths, made that people fly before them. The Goths, in consternation, presented themselves on the banks of the Danube, and with suppliant air, entreated the Romans to allow them a place of refuge. This they easily obtained from Valens, who assigned several portions of land in Thrace for their support, but left them

them destitute of all needful supplies. Stimulated, therefore, by hunger and resentment, they soon after rose against their protectors, and in a dreadful engagement, which was fought near Adrianople, they destroyed Valens and the greatest part of his army.

The Roman armies being thus weakened, the emperors, finding it difficult, at last, to raise levies in the provinces, were obliged to hire one body of barbarians to oppose another. This expedient had its use in circumstances of immediate danger. But when that was over, the Romans found it was as difficult to rid themselves of their new allies, as of their former enemies. Thus the empire was not ruined by any particular invasion, but sunk gradually under the weight of different attacks made upon it on every side. When the barbarians had wasted one province, those who succeeded the first spoilers, proceeded to another. Their devastations were at first limited to Thrace, Mæsia, and Pannonia, but when these countries were ruined, they destroyed Macedonia, Thessaly, and Greece; and from thence they proceeded to Noricum. The empire was in this manner continually shrinking, and Italy, at last, became the frontier of its own dominion.

The valour and conduct of Theodosius, in some measure retarded the destruction which had begun in the time of Valens, but upon his death the enemy became irresistible. A large body of Goths had been called in to assist the regular forces of the empire, under the command of Alaric, their King; but what was brought in to stop its universal decline, proved the most mortal stab to its security. This Gothic prince who is represented as brave, impetuous, and enterprising, perceiving the weakness of the state, and how little Arcadius and Honorius, the successors of Theodosius, were able to secure it, putting himself at the head of his barbarous forces, declared war against his employers, and fought the armies of the empire for some years with various success. However, in proportion as his troops were cut off, he received new supplies from his native forests: and, at length, putting his mighty designs in execution, passed the Alps, and poured down like a torrent, among the fruitful vallies of Italy.

This charming region had long been the seat of indolence and sensual delight; its fields were now turned into gardens of pleasure, that only served to enervate the possessors, from having once been a nursery of military strength, that furnished soldiers for the conquest of mankind. The timid inhabitants, therefore, beheld with terror, a dreadful enemy ravaging in the midst of their country

try, while their wretched Emperor, Honorius, who was then in Ravenna, still only seemed resolved to keep up his dignity, and to refuse any accommodation.

But the inhabitants of Rome felt the calamities of the times with double aggravation. This great city, which had long sat as mistress of the world, now saw herself besieged by an army of fierce and terrible barbarians; and being crowded with inhabitants, it was reduced, by the extremities of pestilence and famine, to a most deplorable situation. In this extremity the senate dispatched their ambassadors to Alaric, desiring him either to grant them a peace upon reasonable terms, or to give them leave to fight it with him in the open field. To this message, however, the Gothic monarch only replied, with a burst of laughter, "that thick grass was easier cut than thin," implying, that their troops when cooped within the narrow compass of the city, would be more easily overcome, than when drawn out in order of battle. When they came to debate about peace, he demanded all their riches, and all their slaves. When he was asked, "What then he would leave them;" he sternly replied, "their lives." These were hard conditions for such a celebrated city to accept; but compelled by the necessity of the times, they raised an immense treasure, both by taxation and by stripping the heathen temples; and thus, at length, bought off their fierce invader. But this was but a temporary removal of the calamity; for Alaric now finding that he might become master of Rome whenever he thought proper, returned with his army a short time after; pressed it more closely than he had done before, and at last took it; but whether by force or stratagem is not agreed among historians. Thus that city, which for ages had plundered the rest of the world, and enriched herself with the spoils of mankind, now felt, in turn, the sad reverse of fortune, and suffered all that barbarity could inflict, or patience endure. The soldiers had liberty to pillage all places except the Christian churches; and, in the midst of this horrible desolation, so great was the reverence of these barbarians for our holy religion, that the pagan Romans found safety in applying to those of the Christian persuasion for protection. This dreadful devastation continued for three days; and unspeakable were the precious monuments, both of art and learning, that sunk under the fury of the conquerors. However, there were still left numberless traces of the city's former greatness; so that this capture seemed rather a correction, than a total overthrow.

But the Gothic conquerors of the west, though they had suffered Rome to survive its first capture, now found how
easy

easy it was to become masters of it upon any other occasion. The extent of its walls had, in fact, made it almost impracticable for the inhabitants to defend them; and, as it was situated in a plain, it might be stormed without much difficulty. Besides this, no succours were to be expected from without; for the number of the people was so extremely diminished, that the Emperors were obliged to retire to Ravenna; a place so fortified by nature, that they could be safe without the assistance of an army. What Alaric, therefore, spared, Gesneric, king of the Vandals, not long after contributed to destroy. His merciless soldiers, for fourteen days together, ravaged with implacable fury, in the midst of that venerable place. Neither private dwellings, nor public buildings; neither sex, nor age, nor religion, were the least protection against their lust or avarice.

The capital of the empire being thus ransacked several times, and Italy over-run by barbarous invaders, under various denominations, from the remotest skirts of Europe; the western Emperors, for some time, continued to hold the title without the power of royalty. Honorius lived till he saw himself stripped of the greatest part of his dominions; his capital taken by the Goths; the Huns possessed of Pannonia; the Alans, Suevi, and Vandals established in Spain; and the Burgundians seated in Gaul, where the Goths also fixed themselves at last. After some time, the inhabitants of Rome also, being abandoned by their princes, feebly attempted to take the supreme power into their own hands. Armorica and Britain, seeing themselves forsaken, began to regulate themselves by their own laws. Thus the power of the state was entirely broken, and those who assumed the title of Emperors only encountered certain destruction. At length even the very name of Emperor of the West expired upon the abdication of Augustulus; A. D. 476. and Odoacer, general of the Hreuli, assumed the title of king of all Italy.

Britain, long abandoned by the Romans, had been lately conquered by the Saxons; Africa was possessed by the Vandals, Spain by the Visigoths; Gaul by the Franks, Pannonia by the Huns; and now Italy, with its proud metropolis, which, for ages, had given law to the world, was plundered and enslaved. A barbarian, whose lineage is unknown, pitched his tent in the ruins of Rome.

Such was the end of this great empire, which had conquered mankind with its arms, and instructed the world with its wisdom; which had risen by temperance, and fallen by luxury; which had been established by a spirit of patriotism, and had sunk into ruin when the empire was become so extensive, that a Roman citizen was but an empty name.

Rome,

Rome, however, still attracts the presence and commands the admiration of the learned and curious traveller. He views with rapture the glowing figures of the sculptor and the painter, he gazes with astonishment on the stupendous works of ancient magnificence, and traces with devout veneration the footsteps of heroes and of consuls.

In our days, Europe has no longer to dread the formidable emigrations of the north. Those countries are now cultivated and civilized. The reign of barbarism is contracted into a narrow span; and the remnants of Calmucks or Uzbecks, can no longer excite the fears of the Europeans. The rude valour of the former barbarians was seconded by personal strength, and an adamant frame; but this superiority is in a great measure destroyed by the change of the military art, and the invention of gunpowder. Mathematics, chymistry, mechanics and architecture are all assiduously applied to the service of war; and Europe is secure from any future irruption of barbarians, since before they can conquer they must cease to be barbarous.

C H A P. LIV.

Eastern Empire.—Justinian.—The celebrated Belisarius.—Siege and Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks.—Reflections on the Fate of Nations.

DURING the various vicissitudes and fall of the empire in the West, the imperfect annals of the East present to us the names of Zeno, Anastasius and Justin, who successively ascended the throne of Constantinople.

Justin, who assumed Justinian for his partner in the empire, did not survive the promotion of his nephew above four months, but died of a wound which he had received many years before in battle. He could neither read nor write, having been employed, during his younger years, in keeping cattle. He was, notwithstanding, a man of extraordinary penetration, and uncommon address in the management of the most difficult affairs.

When Justinian ascended the throne, the kingdoms of the Goths and Vandals had obtained a peaceable establishment in Europe and Africa, but the Roman lawyers and statesmen still asserted the indefeasible dominion of the Emperor. After the imperial purple was resigned by the West, the
princes

princes of Constantinople assumed the sole and sacred sceptre of the monarchy; and aspired to deliver their subjects from the usurpation of barbarians and heretics. The internal state of Africa afforded an honourable motive, and promised a powerful support to the Roman arms; while the hopes of the Romans were excited by the appointment of Belisarius to the command of their armies.

This hero who revived the tainting glory of Rome, was born among the Thracian peasants, and served among the private guards of Justinian. When his patron became Emperor, the domestic was promoted to military command, and entrusted with the important station of Dara. The Persian general had advanced with forty thousand of his best troops to raise the fortifications of that bulwark. In the level plain of Dara, he was encountered by Belisarius, at the head of twenty-five thousand Romans. The skill of the imperial general decided the fate of the day, and eight thousand of the vanquished Persians were left on the field of battle.

Belisarius was, accordingly, sent into Africa with an army, and in less than two years completed the conquest of that country. The victorious general then recovered the island of Sicily from the Goths, and soon after reduced a great part of Italy. Having united all these provinces to the Eastern empire, he returned in a triumphant manner to Constantinople. A. D. 541.

The Huns, having made an irruption into Thrace, came within one hundred and fifty furlongs of Constantinople; but Belisarius, greatly weakened by old age, marched out against them, and put them to flight. This was the last exploit performed by Belisarius, who, upon his return to Constantinople, was disgraced, stripped of all his employments, and confined to his house. His disgrace is ascribed by a cotemporary writer *, to the malice of his enemies at court, who persuaded the Emperor, whose jealousy increased with his years, that Belisarius aspired to the sovereignty. Modern writers allege, that Justinian caused his eyes to be put out, and reduced him to such poverty, that he was obliged to beg from door to door. But ancient authors assure us, that the Emperor was convinced of his innocence the year following, and restored him to all his employments, which he enjoyed to his death.

About the time of the disgrace of Belisarius, the Emperor discovered a conspiracy against his person, and caused the chief conspirators to be put to death. The Emperor was

* Agathias.

soon after carried off by a natural death, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign. Justinian signalized his reign by reuniting Africa and Italy to the empire; by publishing the famous code of laws called from him the Justinian Code; and by his public works. There was scarce a city in his dominions, in which he did not erect some stately edifice. On all these accounts, the surname of Great has been deservedly conferred upon him.

The duration of the Eastern empire reached from the year 395 to the year 1453. In the course of this period, it never equalled the ancient Roman empire in power or splendour; and it presented always a spectacle of weakness, folly, superstition, and crimes. It was gradually dismembered, and rent in pieces. The Bulgarians claimed one part of it, and the Saracens, a race of people who inhabited the deserts of Arabia, conquered Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and other neighbouring countries *. On the ruins of the Eastern Roman monarchy, Mahomet II. established the Turkish empire, and his descendants still possess the finest country in our part of the globe.

The character of the conqueror of Constantinople attracts, and even commands our attention. Mahomet the Second was early educated in, and zealously professed the observance of the Koran; age and empire might insensibly relax his rigid obedience to the laws of the prophet; but so scrupulously were they fulfilled at first by the son of Amurath, that as often as he conversed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters, he was distinguished by his rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and to his native tongue were added the acquisition of the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldean, the Latin, and the Greek languages. History and geography, astrology and mathematics, confessed the variety of his literary pursuits; and his taste for the arts was displayed by his liberal invitation, and reward, of the painters of Italy. But his thirst of dominion and of conquest was unbounded; and his cruelty, after victory, was often insatiate.

A siege of forty days proclaimed the approaching ruin of Constantinople. The breaches were increased, the garrison was diminished, and the strength of the inhabitants was impaired by discord. In an attempt to destroy the unfinished works of the besiegers, forty gallant youths were inhumanly massacred by the command of the Sultan, and Constantine could only avenge their fate by exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty Mussulmen.

The twenty-ninth of May was fixed by the Sultan, and was sanctioned by his favourite science of astrology, for the fatal and final assault. The dervises proclaimed to those who should fall in the holy enterprise immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise, and all the pleasures their hearts could desire. The Sultan promised the temporal incentive of double pay. "The city and the buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine: but I resign to your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty: be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire; the intrepid soldier who first ascends the walls of Constantinople, shall be rewarded with the government of the fairest and the most wealthy; and my gratitude shall accumulate his honours and his fortunes above the measure of his own hopes." Such powerful motives diffused among the Turks a general ardour, and the camp resounded with the shouts of "God is God! there is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God!"

The minds of the Christians were agitated with far different passions; despair and fear by turns occupied their bosoms; the noblest of the youths were summoned by Constantine Palæologus to the imperial palace, and he vainly attempted to infuse into their minds the hope to which he himself was a stranger. Yet this band of warriors was animated by the example of their prince. The Christians, for some time, maintained their superiority; and the voice of the Emperor was heard exhorting his companions and subjects by a last effort to achieve the deliverance of their country; but in the moment of lassitude, the janizaries rose fresh and vigorous, and poured the fury of their arms on their faint and feeble opponents. The tide of battle was impelled by the Sultan himself, who on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, reproved the tardy, and applauded the ardent.

The assault now became every moment more vigorous. Hassan, the janizary, was the first who mounted the walls, and deserved the reward of the Sultan. A crowd of Turks impetuously succeeded; and the Greeks driven from the rampart were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. The remnant of the nobles still fought round the person of the Emperor; his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head!" His last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. He had before prudently cast away the purple; in the confusion of the attack, he fell by an unknown hand; his body was buried under a monument of slain, and was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes. With his life resistance expired; the Turks poured in on every side; the walls

which had defied the Goths, which had resisted the united forces of the Avars and the Persians, now yielded to the superior enthusiasm of the Moslems; and the race of Othman, the disciples of Mahomet, established their government and their religion in the palace and the churches which had been founded by Constantine.

Let us here *pause* a moment, and reflect on the fate of nations, and the transient prosperity of empires. Greece, the land of freedom, the parent of heroes, the nurse of philosophers, who when she bowed before the victorious arms, refined the taste of Rome, is sunk the slave of barbarous superstition, and ignorant despotism; whilst the successors of Alexander, whose rapid victories overturned the Persian monarchy, and deluged Asia with blood, are doomed to sooth the pride, and feed the avarice of some upstart Turkish Basha! The acquisitions of Lucullus and Pompey, in Asia, and even the fleeting conquests of Trajan, have all yielded to the fierce followers of Mahomet, and form part of the dominions of the Ottoman Porte. Syria, once the seat of royalty, and long the eastern frontier of the Roman empire, attracts only the curiosity of the traveller, or exercises the speculations of the philosopher; whilst Phenicia and Palestine, deserted and destitute, seem but to exist in their former reputation. It is needless to remind the reader, that we owe the useful and elegant invention of letters to the first, and the pure doctrine of the Christian religion to the last. Egypt, renowned for mystic science and splendid literary pre-eminence, now groans beneath the iron rod of delegated authority, and is an appendage to the Turkish government; her redundant Nile overflows to fill the coffers of capricious tyranny and sanguinary oppression. On the coast of Africa, Carthage, formerly the rival of Rome, is possessed by the States of Tripoli and Tunis; Numidia, once the kingdom of the celebrated Masinissa and the crafty Jugurtha, obeys the arbitrary nod of the Dey of Algiers. Fez is the Mauritania of the ancients; and the ruins of a city founded by the Romans, are still to be discerned amidst dominions doomed to experience the savage ferocity of the Emperor of Morocco. Of the islands which acknowledged the authority of Rome, Majorca and Minorca both belong to Spain; Sardinia and Sicily are governed by Italian Princes; Corsica has been subdued, and almost depopulated, by the ambition of France; the rest have submitted to the victorious arms of the Turks, except Malta, which still continues to baffle the force and brave the indignation of the Ottoman power.

C H A P. LV.

A general View of Modern History. — Feudal System. — Chivalry. — The Feudal System gives Way to Liberty and Commerce. — Crusades. — Derivation of Lombard-street. — Hanseatic League. — First Traveller. — Spirit of Adventure and Discovery shews itself. — Europe emerges out of Darknes. — Balance of Power. — Thoughts on Conquest. — Peace and War.

IN order to prepare the young reader for entering upon the particular history of each country, it may not be improper to place before his eye a general view of the modern world.

Towards the close of the sixth century, the Saxons, a German nation, were masters of the southern and more fertile provinces of Britain; the Franks, another tribe of Germans, of Gaul; the Goths, of Spain; the Goths and Lombards, of Italy, and the adjacent provinces. Scarcely any vestige of the Roman policy, jurisprudence, arts or literature remained. New forms of government, new laws, new manners, new dresses, new languages, and new names of men and countries, were every where introduced.

From this period, till the sixteenth century, Europe exhibited a picture of most melancholy Gothic barbarity. Literature, science, taste, were words scarce in use during these ages. Persons of the highest rank, and in the most eminent stations, could not read nor write. Many of the clergy did not understand the breviary; which they were obliged daily to recite. Some of them could scarcely read it. The human mind neglected, uncultivated, and depressed, sunk into the most profound ignorance. The superior genius of Charlemagne, who in the beginning of the ninth century, governed France and Germany with part of Italy; and Alfred the Great in England, during the latter part of the same century, endeavoured to dispel this darkness, and give their subjects a short glimpse of light. But the ignorance of the age was too powerful for their efforts and institutions. The darkness returned and even encreased; so that a still greater degree of ignorance and barbarism prevailed throughout Europe.

A new division of property gradually introduced a new species of government formerly unknown; which singular institution is now distinguished by the name of the *Feudal System*. The king or general, who led the barbarians to conquest, parcelled out the lands of the vanquished among his chief officers, binding those on whom they were bestowed to follow his standard with a number of men, and to bear arms
in

in his defence. The chief officers imitated the example of the sovereign, and in distributing portions of their lands among their dependants, annexed the same condition to the grant. But though this system seemed to be admirably calculated for defence against a foreign enemy, it degenerated into a system of oppression.

The usurpation of the nobles became unbounded and intolerable. They reduced the great body of the people into a state of actual servitude. They were deprived of the natural and most unalienable rights of humanity. They were slaves fixed to the soil which they cultivated, and together with it were transferred from one proprietor to another, by sale or by conveyance. Every offended baron or chieftain, buckled on his armour, and sought redress at the head of his vassals. His adversaries met him in like hostile array. The kindred and dependants of the aggressor, as well as of the defender, were involved in the quarrel. They had not even the liberty of remaining neuter.

The nobility often aspired at independency. They disputed the claims of the sovereign; they withdrew their attendance or turned their arms against him *. They scorned to consider themselves as subjects; and a kingdom, considerable in name and extent, was a mere shadow of monarchy, and really consisted of as many separate principalities as it contained baronies. A thousand feuds and jealousies subsisted among the barons, and gave rise to as many wars. Hence every country in Europe, wasted or kept in continual alarm by these internal hostilities, was filled with castles and places of strength, in order to protect the inhabitants from the fury of their fellow-subjects †.

The monarchs of Europe perceived the encroachments of their nobles with impatience. In order to create some power that might counterbalance those potent vassals, who, while they enslaved the people, controlled or gave law to the crown, a plan was adopted of conferring new privileges on towns. These privileges abolished all marks of servitude; and the inhabitants of towns were formed into corporations, or bodies politic, to be governed by a council and magistrates of their own nomination ‡.

There is a point of depression as well as of exaltation, says a philosophic historian §, beyond which human affairs seldom

* Montesquieu.

† Dr. Robertson.

‡ This Gothic system still prevails in Poland; a remnant of it continued in the Highlands of Scotland so late as the year 1748, and even in England, a country renowned for civil and religious liberty, some relics of these Gothic institutions may be perceived at this day.

§ Mr. Hume.

pals, and from which they naturally return in a contrary progress. This utmost point of decline society seems to have attained in Europe; when the disorders of the feudal government, together with the corruption of taste and manners consequent upon these, were arrived at their greatest excess. Accordingly, from that æra, we can trace a succession of causes and events, which, with different degrees of influence, contributed to abolish anarchy and barbarism, and introduce order and politeness.

Among the first of these causes we must rank chivalry; which, as an elegant and inquisitive writer remarks, "though commonly considered as a wild institution, the result of caprice and the source of extravagance, arose naturally from the state of society in those times, and had a very serious effect in refining the manners of the European nations *."

The institutions of chivalry were coeval with the feudal association. The feudal state, as has been observed, was a state of perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy. The weak and unarmed were exposed every moment to insults or injuries. The power of the sovereign was too limited to prevent these wrongs, and the legislative authority too feeble to redress them. There was scarce any shelter from violence and oppression, except what the valour and generosity of private persons afforded: and the arm of the brave was the only tribunal to which the helpless could appeal for justice. The trader could no longer travel in safety, or bring unmolested his commodities to market. Every possessor of a castle pillaged them, or laid them under contribution; and many not only plundered the merchants, but carried off all the women that fell in their way. Slight inconveniences may be overlooked or endured, but when abuses grow to a certain height, the society must reform or go to ruin. It becomes the business of all to discover, and to apply such remedies as will most effectually remove the prevailing disorders. Humanity sprung from the bosom of violence; and relief from the hand of rapacity. Those licentious and tyrannic nobles, who had been guilty of every species of outrage, and every mode of oppression, touched at last with a sense of natural equity, and swayed by the conviction of a common interest, formed associations for the redress of private wrongs, and the preservation of public safety.

The young warrior among the ancient Germans, as well as among the modern knights, was armed, for the first time, with certain ceremonies proper to inspire martial ardour. This ceremony of knighthood was in its origin very simple.

* Dr. Robertson.

"fancied; by the ridicule of the author of *Don Quixotte*,
"but of old age, despondence and debility *."

The acquisition of liberty, by the abolition of the feudal system, made such a happy change in the condition of mankind, as roused them from that stupidity and inaction into which they had been sunk by the wretchedness of their former state. A spirit of industry revived; commerce became an object of attention, and began to flourish.

Various causes contributed to revive this spirit of commerce, and to renew the intercourse between different nations. Constantinople the capital of the Eastern or Greek empire, had escaped the ravages of the Goths and Vandals, who overthrew that of the West. In this city, some remains of literature and science were preserved: this too, for many ages, was the great emporium of trade, and where some relish for the precious commodities and curious manufactures of India was retained. They communicated some knowledge of these to their neighbours in Italy; and the crusades, or holy wars, which were begun by the Christian powers of Europe with a view to drive the Saracens from A. D. 1096. Jerusalem, opened a communication between Europe and the East. Constantinople was the general place of rendezvous for the Christian armies, in their way to Palestine, or on their return from thence. Though the object of these expeditions was conquest, and not commerce, and though the issue of them proved unfortunate, their commercial effects were both beneficial and permanent.

The crusades, in a very striking manner, displayed the character of the Europeans during that period. Superstition and a wrong directed zeal were the cause of those cruel wars, and Christians, under the impulse of a religious phrenzy, violated all laws, human and divine. The history of mankind before that period, presents us with nothing similar to it. Canaan, or the Holy Land, was much respected in those days, as being the country in which our Blessed Saviour was born, preached, wrought miracles, and died for the sins of the world. In the middle ages, Christians frequently went from every part of Europe in pilgrimage to Judea, to visit the sepulchre of Jesus Christ, the town of his nativity, and every other place, rendered famous by his presence and miracles. To go in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, once in their life at least, was, they thought, the most proper means to conciliate the favour of God. The Turks were then in possession of Canaan, and the Christians had hitherto beheld with indifference the religion of Mahomet planted in the

* Stuart's View of Society.

land of Christ's nativity. This indifference was changed in a moment into a most ardent zeal, by the following circumstance.

About twenty years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, the Holy Sepulchre was visited by an hermit of the name of Peter, a native of Amiens, in the province of Picardy. His resentment and sympathy were excited by his own injuries and the oppression of the Christian name. From Jerusalem the pilgrim returned an accomplished fanatic, and determined to rouse the martial nations of Europe to the deliverance of the Holy Land. Pope Urban the Second received him as a prophet, and applauded his glorious design; and the zealous missionary, invigorated by the approbation of the pontif, traversed with speed and success the provinces of Italy and France. His head bare, his feet naked, his meagre body wrapped in a coarse garment, he preached to innumerable crouds in the churches, the streets, and the high ways. When he painted the sufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren, and rescue their Saviour, every breast glowed with indignation. The rustic enthusiast inspired the passions which he felt, and Christendom expected with impatience the counsels and decrees of the supreme pontiff.

The council assembled by Urban for considering this important enterprize, met at Placentia, and consisted of two hundred bishops of Italy, France, Burgundy, Swabia, and Bavaria; four thousand of the clergy and thirty thousand of the laity attended; and the session of seven days was held in a spacious plain adjacent to the city. The ambassadors of the Greek Emperor, Alexis Comnenus, were introduced to plead the distress of their sovereign, and the danger of Constantinople. At the sad tale of the misery of their Eastern brethren, the assembly burst into tears; and the most eager champions declared their readiness instantly to march under the holy banner.

The prudent Pope, however, adjourned the final decision to a second synod; and in the autumn of the same year, at Clermont, in the territories of the Count Auvergne, the Roman Pontiff convened a counsel not less numerous or respectable than the synod of Placentia. His eloquence was addressed to a well-prepared and impatient audience. His topics were obvious, his exhortation was vehement, his success inevitable. The orator was interrupted by the shouts of thousands, who, with one voice, exclaimed aloud, *God wills it! God wills it!* "It is indeed the will of God," replied the Pope; "and let this memorable word be for ever
" adopted

“adopted as your cry of battle, to animate the courage of the champions of Christ. His cross is the symbol of your salvation, wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as a pledge of your sacred and irrevocable engagement.” The proposal was joyfully accepted; great numbers, both of the clergy and laity, impressed on their garments the sign of the cross; and after a confession and absolution of their sins, the champions of the cross were dismissed with a superfluous admonition to invite their countrymen and friends; and their departure for the holy land was fixed to the festival of the assumption, the fifteenth of August, of the ensuing year.

In the age of the crusades, the Christians both of the East and West, were persuaded of the lawfulness and merit of the holy war. They insisted on the right of natural and religious defence, their peculiar title to the holy land, and the impiety of the Pagan and Mahometan foes. The victorious Turks asserted a divine claim of universal empire. In less than thirty years they had subdued the kingdoms of Asia, as far as Jerusalem and the Hellespont; and the Greek empire tottered on the verge of destruction. To the worldly apprehension of their progress, were added spiritual motives and indulgences. In the middle ages, the bishops and priests interrogated sinners; compelled them to give an account of their thoughts, words and actions; and prescribed the terms of their reconciliation with God. A year of penance was appreciated at about four pounds sterling for the rich; and at nine shillings for the indigent. It is a maxim of the civil law, that whoever cannot pay with his *purse* must pay with his *body*. The practice of flagellation was adopted by the Monks, a cheap though painful equivalent; and a year of penance was taxed at three thousand lashes. In the council of Clermont, the Pope proclaimed a *plenary indulgence* to those who should enlist under the banner of the cross; the absolution of *all* their sins, and a full receipt for *all* that might be due of canonical penance. The robber, the incendiary, the homicide, arose by thousands, and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination. To these were superadded less pure temptations the spoils of a Turkish emir, the flavour of the wines, and the beauty of the Grecian women; and each warrior depended on his sword to carve a plenteous and honourable establishment, which he measured only by the extent of his wishes. These inducements were potent and numerous; the ignorance, which magnified the hopes, diminished the perils of the enterprise, and to defray their preparations, princes alienated their provinces, nobles their lands and castles, and peasants their cattle, and the instruments of husbandry.

The fifteenth of August had been fixed in the council of Clermont for the departure of the pilgrims; but the day was anticipated by a crowd of thoughtless plebeians. Early in the spring, above sixty thousand of the populace of both sexes, from the confines of France and Lorraine, flocked round Peter the Hermit, and pressed the missionary to lead them to the holy sepulchre. The unqualified fanatic assumed the character of a general, and moved with his votaries along the banks of the Rhine and Danube. Their wants and numbers soon compelled them to separate, and Walter the Pennyless, a valiant though needy soldier, conducted the vanguard of the pilgrims. The footsteps of Peter were closely pursued by the monk Godescal, whose sermons had swept away fifteen or twenty thousand peasants from the villages of Germany. The rear was again pressed by two hundred thousand of the refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal licence of rapine, prostitution, and drunkenness.

In their march through the wild and extensive countries of Hungary and Bulgaria, the disorders of the pilgrims provoked the ferocious nature of the inhabitants; and many myriads of the crusaders were the victims of their indignation and revenge. About a third of the naked fugitives, among whom was the hermit Peter escaped to the Thracian mountains. They were conducted to Constantinople by easy journies; and transported to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, by the caution of the Emperor Alexis, who advised them to await the arrival of their brethren. Their blind impetuosity soon urged them to desert the station which he had assigned them, and to rush headlong against the Turks, who occupied the road to Jerusalem. Peter the Hermit, had withdrawn from the camp to Constantinople. Walter the Pennyless in vain attempted to introduce some order among the promiscuous multitude. They were allured into the plain of Nice, overwhelmed by the Turkish arrows, and three hundred thousand of the first crusaders perished, before a single city was rescued from the infidels, or their graver brethren had completed the preparations of their enterprise.

Of the crusaders there were three grand divisions. The second division, marching with less confusion than the first, penetrated into Asia, was successful in some skirmishes, and finished its career, by yielding to the arms of Solyman in the plains of Nice.

The third division was conducted by powerful princes, well versed in the military art. In the first crusade none of the great sovereigns of Europe embarked. The emperor, Henry the Fourth, was not disposed to obey the summons of the Pope, with whom he was at variance; Philip the First of France

France was occupied by his pleasures; William Rufus of England by a recent conquest; the kings of Spain were engaged in a domestic war against the Moors; and the northern monarchs of Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, were yet strangers to the passions and interests of the south. But the religious ardour was strongly felt by the princes of the second order, who held an important place in the feudal system. Robert duke of Normandy, Hugh count of Vermandois, brother to Philip king of France, Baldwin earl of Flanders, Eustace de Boulogne, Raymond count de Thoulouse, followed by many of the nobles of Europe, and warlike troops, arrived in Greece, where they were reinforced by a body of Normans, celebrated for brave exploits.

Alexis Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, alarmed at these emigrations, hastened to rid himself of those dangerous and insolent guests. He flattered, caressed, and furnished them with boats to transport them to the opposite shore. Being arrived in Asia, they proved superior to the courage and activity of Solyman; possessed themselves of Bithynia, Cilicia, and Syria, from which countries they expelled the Sultans who reigned there. But misfortunes and fatigue had, by this time, greatly diminished the army of the crusaders.

At last they arrived before the walls of Jerusalem, and began that siege, so famous, upon account of the many heroic actions performed by the besiegers and the besieged, by the great number of princes there present, and by Tasso's immortal poem. The city is taken by assault, after a siege of six weeks, and the conquerors, under the impulse of a brutal fury, put to death, all who are not Christians. The most hidden retreats cannot conceal, from their savage ferocity, trembling mothers and their innocent children; their swords spare none, and streams of blood deluge the streets.

This massacre continued for three days, and the disciples of the *Prince of Peace* were fatigued, rather than satiated, by the slaughter of seventy thousand Moslems. After this horrible carnage, they repaired to the sepulchre of Jesus Christ, where falling down upon their knees, they rent the air with lamentations, and bedewed with tears of joy and penitence the monument of their redemption*. So inconsistent is human nature with itself; and so easily, as a great historian remarks; "does the most effeminate superstition associate both with the most heroic courage, and with the fiercest barbarity"†.

The Crusaders chose Godfrey of Bouillon, king of Jerusalem, and settled him in their new conquests.

* Vertot, Dr. Robertson, Gibbon.

† Hume.

The crusades renewed at different times, comprehend a period of one hundred and seventy-eight years. They deprived the kingdoms of Europe of many of their inhabitants, which was no doubt hurtful to population; and the specie they carried with them was lost to this quarter of the globe. On the other hand, the character of those who engaged in the crusades is to be taken into consideration. The majority of them were the turbulent and unruly, whose chief delight was war and plunder; — the profligate and dissipated, whose souls were stained with the commission of many crimes, — those in debt, who had no visible means of paying what they owed — the poor nobility, who had not wherewith to support their rank, people called gentlemen, who subsisted by the charity of the monasteries, or depended for a precarious subsistence upon the feudal barons, — those of the lowest rank in society, who, for want of agriculture, manufactures, trade, and commerce to employ them, lived in idleness and poverty. The absence of such characters was rather a benefit than a loss to society. The crusades, by removing out of the way, those members who were continually raising disturbances, and committing acts of cruelty, enabled the well-disposed, who remained, to cultivate the arts of peace, to promote civilization, and refinement of manners. Some of those who returned to Europe, brought from the East, a taste for the arts and sciences. The fine buildings they had seen at Constantinople, and in Asia, executed in Grecian taste, furnished them with the idea of introducing the imitation of them in the west, where the Gothic manner of building prevailed.

The crusaders brought from the east some of the writings of the ancients; this was favourable to learning in those dark ages, as it gave the Europeans a taste for the finished compositions of the Greeks, and raised in them a desire to become acquainted with those masters of poetry, history and eloquence.

It has been already observed, that the crusades were favourable to commerce, as an intercourse was then opened between the east and the west, which has continued ever since. The European merchants attended the armies of the crusaders, sold them the commodities of Europe and Asia, brought Asiatic commodities into Europe, and, from the gain they made, found it would be greatly to their advantage to carry on a trade with the nations of Asia.

From the crusades was derived the invention of coats of arms. By these the chiefs of the crusades were distinguished under the heavy iron armour, which entirely covered their bodies; from hence sprung heraldry, which had been attended to and cultivated as a science, when studies much more valuable were entirely neglected.

Soon after the close of the holy war, the mariner's compass was invented, which facilitated the communication between remote nations, and brought them nearer to each other. The Italian states, particularly those of Venice and Genoa, began to establish a regular commerce with the east and the ports of Egypt, and drew from thence all the rich productions of India. These commodities they disposed of to great advantage among the other nations of Europe, who began to acquire some taste of elegance, unknown to their predecessors or despised by them. During the 12th and 13th centuries, the commerce of Europe was almost entirely in the hands of the Italians, more commonly known in those ages by the name of Lombards. Companies, or societies of Lombard merchants, settled in every different kingdom; they became the carriers, the manufacturers, and the bankers of Europe. One of these companies settled in London, and from thence the name Lombard-street was derived.

Whilst the Italians in the south of Europe cultivated trade with such industry and success, the commercial spirit awakened in the north towards the middle of the thirteenth century. As the Danes, Swedes, and other nations around the Baltic, were at that time extremely barbarous, and infested that sea with their piracies, this obliged the cities of Lubec and Hamburg, soon after they had begun to open some trade with the Italians, to enter into a league of mutual defence. They derived such advantages from this union, that other towns acceded to their confederacy; and, in a short time, eighty of the most considerable cities, scattered through those large countries of Germany and Flanders, which stretch from the bottom of the Baltic to Cologne on the Rhine, joined in an alliance, called the *Hanseatic league*; which became so formidable, that its alliance was courted, and its enmity was dreaded by the greatest monarchs. The members of this powerful association formed the first systematic plan of commerce known in the middle ages, and conducted it by common laws enacted in their general assemblies. They supplied the rest of Europe with naval stores; and pitched on different towns, the most eminent of which was Bruges, in Flanders, where they established staples, in which their commerce was regularly carried on. Thither the Lombards brought the productions of India, together with the manufactures of Italy, and exchanged them for the more bulky, but not less useful commodities of the north.

As Bruges became the centre of communication between the Lombards and Hanseatic merchants, the Flemings traded with both in that city to such extent, as well as advantage,

as diffused among them a general habit of industry, which long rendered Flanders, and the adjacent provinces the most opulent, the most populous, and best cultivated countries in Europe.

Struck with the flourishing state of these provinces, of which he discovered the true cause, Edward III. of England, endeavoured to excite a spirit of industry among his own subjects, who, blind to the advantages of their own situation, and ignorant of the source from which opulence was destined to flow into their country, totally neglected commerce, and did not even attempt those manufactures, the materials of which they furnished to foreigners. By alluring Flemish artizans to settle in his dominions, as well as by many wise laws for the encouragement and regulation of trade, he gave a beginning to the woollen manufactures of England; and first turned the active and enterprising genius of his people towards those arts which have raised the English to the first rank among commercial nations.

The Christian princes, after their great losses in the cruades, endeavoured to cultivate the friendship of the great Khans of Tartary, whose fame in arms had reached the most remote corners of Europe and Asia, that they might be some check upon the Turks, who had been such enemies to the Christian name; and who, from a contemptible handful of wanderers, serving occasionally in the armies of contending princes, had begun to extend their ravages over the finest countries of Asia.

The Christian embassies were managed chiefly by monks; a wandering profession of men, who, impelled by zeal, and undaunted by difficulties and dangers, found their way to the remotest courts of these infidels. The English philosopher, Roger Bacon, was so industrious as to collect from their relations or traditions, many particulars of the Tartars, which are to be found in Purchas's Pilgrim, and other books of travels. The first regular traveller of the monkish kind, who committed his discoveries to writing, was John du Plant Carpin, who, with some of his brethren, about the year 1246, carried a letter from Pope Innocent to the great Khan of Tartary, in favour of the Christian subjects in that prince's extensive dominions. Soon after this, a spirit of travelling into Tartary and India became general; and it would be no difficult matter to prove that many Europeans, about the end of the fourteenth century, served in the armies of Tamerlane, one of the greatest princes of Tartary, whose conquests reached to the most remote corners of India; and that they introduced into Europe the use of gunpowder and artillery; the discovery

discovery made by a German chymist being only partial and accidental.

After the death of Tamerlane, who, jealous of the rising power of the Turks, had checked their progress, the Christian adventurers, upon their return, magnifying the vast riches of the East Indies, inspired their countrymen with a spirit of adventure and discovery, and were the first that rendered a passage thither by sea probable and A.D. 1405. practicable. The Portuguese had been always famous for their application to maritime affairs; and to their discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, Great Britain is at this day indebted for her Indian commerce.

At first they contented themselves with short voyages, creeping along the coasts of Africa, discovering cape after cape; but by making a gradual progress southward, they, in the year 1497, were so fortunate as to sail beyond the Cape, which opened a passage by sea to the eastern ocean, and all those countries known by the names of India, China, and Japan.

While the Portuguese were intent upon a passage to India by the east, Columbus, a native of Genoa, conceived a project of sailing thither by the west. His proposal being condemned by his countrymen, as chimerical and absurd, he laid his schemes successively before the courts of France, England, and Portugal, where he had no better success. Such repeated disappointments would have broken the spirit of any man but Columbus. The expedition required expence, and he had nothing to defray it. Spain was now his only resource, and there, after eight years attendance, he at length succeeded, through the interest of queen Isabella. This princess was prevailed upon to patronize him, by the representations of Juan Perez, guardian of the monastery of Rabida. He was a man of considerable learning, and of some credit with queen Isabella; and being warmly attached to Columbus, from his personal acquaintance with him, and knowledge of his merit, he had entered into an accurate examination of that great man's project, in conjunction with a physician settled in his neighbourhood, who was eminent for his skill in mathematical knowledge. This investigation completely satisfied them of the solidity of the principles on which Columbus founded his opinion, and of the probability of success in executing the plan which he proposed. Perez, therefore, so strongly recommended it to queen Isabella, that she entirely entered into the scheme, and even generously offered, to the honour of her sex, to pledge her own jewels in order to raise as much money as might be required in making preparations for the voyage. But Santagel, another friend and patron of Columbus, immediately

diately engaged to advance the sum that was requisite, that the queen might not be reduced to the necessity of having recourse to that expedient.

Columbus now set sail with a fleet of three D. A. 1492. ships, upon one of the most adventurous attempts ever undertaken by man, and in the fate of which the inhabitants of two worlds were interested. In this voyage he had a thousand difficulties to contend with; and his sailors who were often discontented, at length began to insist upon his return, threatening, in case of refusal, to throw him overboard; but the firmness of the commander, and the discovery of land, after a passage of thirty-three days, put an end to the commotion. From the appearance of the natives, he found to his surprise, that this could not be the Indies he was in quest of, and which he soon discovered to be a new world.

Europe now began to emerge out of that darkness, into which she had been sunk since the subversion of the Roman empire. Alfred and Charlemagne, those early luminaries of the modern world, had shed a temporary lustre over the ages in which they lived. They had encouraged learning, both by their example and patronage, and some gleams of genius began to break forth; but the promising dawn did not arrive at perfect day. The schools erected by these great monarchs were confined solely to the churches and monasteries, and monks were almost the only instructors of youth. The contracted ideas of such men, partly arising from that mode of life, partly from their religious opinions, made them utterly unfit for the communication of liberal knowledge. Science, in their hands, degenerated into a barbarous jargon, and genius again sunk in the gloom of superstition. A long night of ignorance succeeded. Learning was considered as dangerous to true piety, and darkness was necessary to hide the usurpations of the clergy, who were then exalting themselves on the ruins of the civil power. The ancient poets and orators were represented as seducers to the path of destruction; and Europe, for almost three centuries, produced no composition that can afford pleasure to a classical reader. But the gloom at last began to disappear, and the sceptre of *knowledge* was wrested from the hand of *superstition*. Several enlightened persons among the laity, who had studied under the Arabs in Spain, undertook the education of youth about the beginning of the eleventh century, in the chief cities of Italy; and afterward in those of France, England, and Germany. Instruction was communicated in a more rational manner. More numerous and more useful branches of science were taught. A taste for ancient literature was revived; and some Latin

Latin poems were written, before the close of the twelfth century, not unworthy of the latter times of the Roman empire*.

Many bars, however, were yet in the way of literary refinement. The taste of the age was too rude to relish the beauties of classical composition. The Latin language in which all science was conveyed, was but imperfectly known to the bulk of readers; and the scarcity of parchment, together with the expence of transcribing, rendered books so extremely dear, as to be only within the reach of a few; learning, however, continued to advance, in spite of every obstruction; and the invention of paper in the fourteenth century, and of printing about the middle of the fifteenth, made knowledge so general within a century after, that Italy began to compare, in arts and letters, her modern with her ancient state, and to contrast the age of Leo X. with that of the second Cæsar. As this period, too, is remarkable for the happy reformation, in religion, it may be considered as the first æra of modern history.

About the same time, the powers of Europe were formed into one great political system, in which each took a station, wherein it has since remained, with less variation than could have been expected, after the shocks occasioned by so many internal revolutions, and so many foreign wars. The great events, which then happened, have not hitherto spent their force. The political principles and maxims then established, still continue to operate; and the ideas concerning the balance of power then introduced, or rendered general, still influence, in some degree, the councils of European nations.

From all which it seems extremely certain, that the concurrence of so many rival princes will always prevent any one of them from gaining the empire over Europe. But it is no less certain, that, in contending for it, they must weaken their own force, and may at length render themselves incapable of defending even their just possessions. The partial conquests they may make are extremely illusive. Instead of promoting, they rather oppose their designs. The more any kingdom is extended it becomes the weaker; and great projects have not been so often excited by slow reiterated efforts, as in the course of a few years, and sometimes by a single expedition. A prince may form a deliberate plan of destroying the rights of his subjects. He may proceed by slow degrees in the execution of it; and if he die before it is completed, his successor may pursue the same steps, and avail himself of what was done before him. But external conquests cannot be concealed. They generally occasion more fear than hurt, and are almost

* Warton.

always less solid than brilliant. Hence the alarms they excite, and the confederacies they give occasion to, by which the prince, who, by misfortune, has been a conqueror, is commonly reduced to the last extremities.

This doctrine however contrary to the prejudices of a powerful and victorious nation, is one of the best established in the science of politics. It is confirmed by examples both ancient and modern. The states of Greece, in particular, delivered from the terror of the Persian invasions, exhibit the same truth in a great variety of lights. There was not one of the most inconsiderable of these little societies, but in its turn imbibed the frenzy of conquest, and in its turn too was reduced by this frenzy to the utmost misery and distress. This subject is fully illustrated by a celebrated Grecian *, in his *Oration on the Peace*; one of the most finished models of ancient eloquence; and which contains a rich fund of political knowledge.

The modern examples are well known. Who does not know that the house of Austria excited the terror of all Europe, before it excited the pity of Great Britain! Germany, Holland, and all the Low Countries, several states in Italy, the kingdom of Spain, with the vast empires of Mexico and Peru in South America, were, at the time of the Reformation, governed by Charles the V. of the house of Austria. These territories, though exceeding in riches and extent the most powerful empires of antiquity, did not gratify the ambition of that monarch, his whole reign being a scene of hostility against his neighbours. One of his successors, the late Empress queen, and the representative of that family, was, however, upon the death of her father, not only stripped of her dominions, but reduced so low as to be in want of necessities; and contributions were actually raised for her in Great Britain, whose king, George II. engaged in her cause, and at the expence of this nation reinstated her upon the imperial throne. Had that family never been the object of fear, the empress queen would never have become the object of compassion.

France affords an example not less striking. The nerves of that kingdom were strained so far beyond their strength, by an ambitious monarch, that it seemed hardly possible they should acquire their natural tone in the course of this century. The debility of their efforts in the war of 1756, proved the greatness of the evil, and the inefficacy of any remedy which is not slow and gradual; but the American war greatly contributed to restore and augment their naval power. What

* Isocrates.

may be the consequences of the late revolution time only can discover.

Of all the European kingdoms, Great Britain, perhaps, enjoys the highest degree of prosperity and glory. She ought, therefore, to be very attentive to preserve so brilliant an existence. A great empire cannot be continued in a happy situation, but by wisdom and moderation. The unhappy contest of this country with the American colonies, plunged her into great difficulties. Her national debt has been much augmented, and her taxes greatly increased. Peace is an unspeakable blessing, and all means should be used to cherish and maintain it. War is a dreadful evil, and a nation should never be involved in it without the most urgent necessity.

CHAP. LVI.

F R A N C E.

Transalpine Gaul was the Name given to France by the Romans.—The Franks gave it the Name of France.—Clovis, and the Merovingian Race of Kings.

THE kingdom of France, which was by the Romans, called Transalpine Gaul, or Gaul beyond the Alps, to distinguish it from Cisalpine Gaul, on the Italian side of the Alps, was probably peopled from Italy, to which it lies contiguous. Like other European nations, it soon became a desirable object to the ambitious Romans; and, after a brave resistance, was annexed to their empire by the invincible arms of Julius Cæsar, about forty-eight years before Christ. Gaul continued in the possession of the Romans till the downfall of that empire in the fifth century, when it became a prey to the Goths, the Burgundians, and the Franks, who subdued, but did not extirpate the ancient natives. The Franks themselves, who gave it the name of France, or Frankenland, were a collection of several people inhabiting Germany, and particularly the Salii, who lived on the banks of the river Sale, and who cultivated the principles of jurisprudence better than their neighbours. Those Salii had a rule, which the rest of the Franks are said to have adopted, and has been by the modern Franks applied to the succession of the throne, excluding all females from the inheritance of sovereignty, and is well known by the name of the *Salic Law*.

The Franks and Burgundians, after establishing their power, and reducing the original natives to a state of slavery, parcelled

parcelled out the lands among their principal leaders: and succeeding kings found it necessary to confirm their privileges, allowing them to exercise sovereign authority in their respective governments, until they at length assumed an independence, only acknowledging the king as their head. This gave rise to those numerous principalities that were formerly in France, and to the several parliaments; for every province became, in its policy and government, an epitome of the whole kingdom; and no laws were made, or taxes raised, without the concurrence of the grand council, consisting of the clergy and of the nobility.

Thus, as in other European nations, immediately after the dissolution of the Roman empire, the first government in France seems to have been a kind of mixed monarchy, and the power of their kings extremely circumscribed and limited by the feudal barons.

The first Christian monarch of the Franks according to one of the best French historians *, was Clovis, who began his reign in the year 481.

The Gauls hated the dominion of the Romans, and were strongly attached to Christianity. Clovis gained on their piety, by favouring their bishops; and his marriage with Clotilda, niece to Gondebaud, king of Burgundy, made them hope that he would speedily embrace the faith. The attachment of his countrymen to their ancient worship was the sole objection: the pious exhortations of the queen had some effect; and the king having vanquished the Allemanni at Tolbiac, near Cologne, after an obstinate engagement, politically ascribed the victory to the God of Clotilda, whom he said he had invoked during the time of battle, under promise of becoming a Christian, if crowned with success. He was accordingly baptized by St. Remigius, bishop of

A. D. 496. Rheims, and almost the whole French nation

followed his example. Clovis was so affected with the eloquence of the bishop, in describing the passion and death of Christ, that he started up, and seizing his spear, violently exclaimed, "Had I been there with the valiant Franks, I would have redressed his wrongs!"

But Clovis, instead of enjoying his good fortune with dignity, disfigured the latter part of his reign by perfidies and cruelties toward the princes of his house, whom he extirpated. He died in 511, after attempting to atone for his crimes by building and endowing churches and monasteries, and assembling a council at Orleans for the regulation of church discipline.

* Daniel.

On the death of Clovis, his kingdom was divided among his sons, and, on that account, involved in civil wars.

A series of weak sovereigns succeeded, under whom the Maires du Palais, or Mayors of the Palace, a kind of viceroys, amid the disorders of civil war and anarchy, extended their authority over both king and nobles, and possessed of the power of sovereigns, assumed at length the title.

Pepin le Bref was the first Maire du Palais, who made his way to the throne, and assumed the sovereignty in name as well as in reality, excluding for ever the descendants of Clovis, or the Merovingian race * from the crown of France, after they had possessed it 270 years.

C H A P. LVII.

Carlovingian Race.—Pepin.—Charlemagne.—His heroic Enterprises and Exploits.—He encourages Learning and the Arts.—His beautiful domestic Character.—Partition of his Empire.—Inursions of the Normans.—Their Religion and Manners.—Louis V. the last of the Carlovingian Line.

PEPIN, the founder of the Carlovingian race of kings, after receiving the submission of the Britons, and recovering Narbonne from the infidels, passed the Alps, in defence of Stephen the Third, then the Roman Pontiff, against Astolphus, who spread his dominion to the very gates of Rome, and demanded an annual tribute of a piece of gold for the life of each citizen. Pepin and his two sons received the title of patricians of Rome from Stephen, who fled to them for assistance; and Astolphus, when besieged in Paris, renounced all pretensions to the sovereignty of Rome.

The bravery, wisdom, and generosity of Pepin facilitated the triumphs of his son Charlemagne, who by the death of his brother Carloman soon enjoyed the undivided empire of France.

The ambition and abilities of Charles soon gave birth to projects which will render his name immortal. A prosperous reign of forty-six years, abounding with military enterprises, political institutions, and literary foundations, offers to our view, in the midst of barbarism, a spectacle worthy of more polished ages.

* So called, from Merovæus, grandfather of Clovis.

At the instigation of the Pope he put an end A. D. 800. to the kingdom of the Lombards, obliged several Italian princes to do him homage, protected the see of Rome, and was crowned emperor of the Romans. The greatest part of Europe submitted to the arms of Charlemagne, before the Saxons, in Germany, could be conquered. The war with that brave and independent people lasted upwards of thirty years, and formed the principal business of his reign. After a number of battles gallantly fought, and many cruelties committed on both sides, the Saxons were totally subjected, and Germany became part of the empire of Charlemagne. A desire of converting the Saxons to Christianity seems to have been one of the principal motives for prosecuting his conquest; and as they were no less tenacious of their religion than their liberty, persecution marched in the train of war, and stained with blood the fetters of slavery.

When we see Charlemagne ordering 4500 Saxons to be slain in his presence, because they would not deliver up Witikind, their leader and defender; when we see him, from a mistaken zeal, forcing them to become Christians, and subjecting them to cruel laws, humanity revolts, and seized with horror, we forget his more amiable qualities, and abhor his memory.

Witikind at last submitted, and embraced Christianity, continuing ever after faithful to his engagements. But he could never inspire his associates with the same docile sentiments. They were continually revolting; and submitting, that they might have it in their power to revolt again. On the final reduction of their country, the more resolute spirits retired into Scandinavia, carrying along with them their vindictive hatred against the dominion, and the religion of France.

Some historians blame the obstinacy of those barbarians, not considering that, it is natural for man to flee from slavery, and the fury of intolerance. Let us call things by their right names. History is an upright tribunal, before which, flattery is silent, and the voice of truth alone is heard. Had the fame of ~~the~~ Charlemagne arisen from no other cause, than his victories over the Lombards, Saracens, and Saxons, he would have deserved to be ranked only among the destroyers of the human race; but he possessed other qualities, which procured him the love of his subjects, and are worthy the admiration of posterity.

Almost every year of Charles's reign was signalized by some military expedition, though very different from those of our times. War was then carried on without any settled plan of operations. The troops were neither regularly disciplined nor paid. Every nobleman led forth his vassals, who were only

only obliged to serve for a certain time; so that there was a kind of necessity of concluding the war with the campaign. The army was dissolved on the approach of winter, and assembled next season, if necessary. Hence we are enabled to account for a circumstance, which would otherwise appear inexplicable, in the reign of this great prince. Besides the Lombards and Saxons, whom he conquered, Charles vanquished in several engagements the Abares and Huns, plundered their capital, and penetrated as far as Ruab on the Danube. He likewise made an expedition into Spain, and carried his arms to the banks of the Ebro*.

It is not, however, in the midst of conquest that Charlemagne appears a great man; it is when we see him employed in procuring happiness to his subjects; extending his views to government, manners, religion, learning, and the arts. He frequently convened the national assemblies, for regulating affairs both of church and state. His attention extended even to the most distant corner of his empire, and to all ranks of men. Sensible how much mankind in general reverence old customs, and those constitutions under which they have lived from their youth, he permitted the inhabitants of all the countries that he conquered to retain their own laws, making only such alterations as he judged absolutely necessary for the good of the community.

Charlemagne was no less amiable in private life. He was an affectionate husband, a tender father, a sincere and generous friend. His house was a model of œconomy, and his person of simplicity and true grandeur. "For shame!" said he to some of his nobles, who were finer dressed than the occasion required; "learn to dress like men, and let the world judge of your rank by your merit, not your habit. Leave silks and finery to women; or reserve them for those days of pomp and ceremony, when robes are worn for shew, not use." On such occasions he himself appeared in imperial magnificence, and freely indulged in every luxury; but in general his dress was plain, and his table frugal. He had his set hours for study, which he seldom omitted; either in the camp, or the court; and, notwithstanding his continual wars, and unremitted attention to the affairs of a great empire, he found leisure to collect the old French poems and historical ballads, with a view to illustrate the history of the monarchy. He was fond of the company and conversation of learned men, invited them from all parts of Europe, and had an academy in his palace, of which he was a member. He established schools in cathedrals and abbeys, in which scholars were in-

* Eginhard.

structed in the knowledge of the scriptures, in arithmetic, grammar, and church music. This was doing a great deal, at a time when even the *dignified clergy* could not subscribe their own name; and when it was deemed a sufficient qualification for a priest to be able to read the *Gospels*, and understand the *Lord's Prayer*.

The companion and particular favourite of Charlemagne, was our learned countryman, Alcuin, who instructed him in the sciences, and was at the head of his Royal Academy. Several lucrative places were the reward of his learning and talents. Indeed, the emperor's generosity to men of letters knew no bounds. Persuaded that genius thrives best when encouraged, he did all he could to cherish it. As ignorance every where prevailed, so this great man saw the necessity of protecting and encouraging a class of men, who could employ their talents for the public good.

The countries which he added by conquest to the empire of France, much exceeded his original dominions, and he retained them to his death, which happened at Aix-la-Chapelle, his usual residence, in the seventy-first year of his A. D. 814. age, and the forty-seventh of his reign. The glory of the French empire seemed to expire with him. He possessed all France, all Germany, part of Hungary, part of Spain, the Low Countries, and the Continent of Italy as far as Benevento. But to govern such an extent of territory, a monarch must be endowed with the genius of a Charlemagne. About a year before his death, he associated his son Louis with him in the empire. The ceremony was very solemn. As if this great man had foreseen the usurpations of the church, he placed the imperial crown upon the altar, and ordered the prince to lift it, and set it on his own head; intimating thereby, that he held it only of God*.

Louis, surnamed *Debonnaire*, on account of the gentleness of his manners, was the only lawful son of Charlemagne that survived him; on whose death a partition of this extensive empire took place, among his three sons. Charles, surnamed the Bold, obtained the kingdom of France; Germany, finally separated from the empire of the Franks, was the share of another son, Louis of Bavaria; and Italy fell to Lothaire, with the title of emperor. Before this division a battle was fought at Fontenoy, in which fell an hundred thousand Franks. Lothaire and his nephew Pepin were in this battle totally defeated; but the victorious brothers having retired to their own dominions, Lothaire rallied his scattered forces, and con-

* Vita Caroli Magni.

tinued the war for three years; after which mutual weakness brought on a peace.

The concluding period of the history of the degenerate posterity of Charlemagne, is uninteresting and obscure. The most memorable event that has been recorded, is the irruptions of the Normans*, a fierce warlike people from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and other parts of Scandinavia. These barbarians, migrating from their native seats, ventured in light barks, hollowed out of the large trunks of trees, to brave the ocean. They penetrated into England, Scotland, the Orkney and Shetland Islands, the Western Isles, and even to Ireland, all which places they made the subjects of their depredations, marking their route by desolation and slaughter. The booty and wealth which those ravagers carried home, excited others among them to advance along the coast of Britain to France, where they first landed. Under one of their most illustrious leaders, Rollo, they A. D. 820. sailed up the Seine; and taking the city of Rouen, soon became so formidable, that Charles the Simple offered his daughter in marriage to Rollo, and ceded to him Normandy, Bretagne, and Neustria.

The supreme divinity of these northern nations was Oden, whom they painted and worshipped as the God of *terror*. They believed that those heroes would stand highest in his favour, who had killed most enemies in the field; that after death, the brave would be admitted into his palace, and there have the happiness of drinking beer, their favourite liquor, out of the skulls of their slaughtered foes.

In consequence of this belief, fatigues, wounds, combats, and perils, were the exercise of infancy and the sport of youth. They were forbidden to pronounce the word fear, even on the most trying occasions. Education, prejudice, manners, example, habit, all contributed to subdue in them the sensation of timidity; to make them covet danger, and seem greedy of death. Military discipline was only wanting to have enabled them to enslave the whole Christian world, then sinking under the weight of a debasing superstition, and cringing beneath the rod of priestly tyranny.

The nuptials of Rollo with the French king's daughter, were celebrated in a very magnificent manner; when he likewise embraced the Christian Religion. This laid the foundation of the Norman power in France; which afterwards gave a king to England, in the person of William duke of Normandy, who subdued Harold, the last Saxon king, in the year 1066. This event proved unfortunate and ruinous

* So called from their northern situation,

to France, as it engaged that nation in almost perpetual wars with England, for whom they were not an equal match, notwithstanding their numbers, and the assistance they received from Scotland.

After the death of Charles, his son Louis, surnamed the Stranger, was recalled from England; whither he had been carried by his mother Egina, daughter of Edward the Elder, and grand-daughter of the great Alfred. He attempted to rescue himself from the tyranny of his tutor, Hugh the Great, son of Robert, late duke of France, who had aspired to the throne. In this, however he failed, and left only a shadow of royalty to his son Lothaire; or rather Hugh the Great was pleased to grant him the title of king, that he himself might enjoy the power. This ambitious nobleman, no less formidable than the ancient mayors, died in 955. He was succeeded in consequence and abilities by his son Hugh Capet, whom we shall soon see on the throne of France.

Lothaire died in 986, and was quietly succeeded by his son Louis V. who governed under the direction of Hugh Capet, during a short reign of one year and two months, which, was one continued scene of troubles. In him ended A. D. 987. the Carolingians, or the descendants of Charlemagne, the second race of French kings.

C H A P. LVIII.

Hugh Capet, the Founder of a new Family.—His Character, —Robert is excommunicated by the Pope.—His Character, —Henry I.—William, Duke of Normandy.—Henry marries a Russian Princess.

HUGH Capet, the most powerful nobleman in France, and founder of the third race of French kings, now ascended the throne, and annexed to the crown the dioceses of Paris and Orleans. The voice of the nation preferred him for his merit and power to his rival Charles, duke of Lorraine, the uncle of the deceased king. He was proclaimed at Nojou a few days after the death of Louis, and was crowned at Rheims. Yet several of the nobles betrayed, by their absence from the coronation, their disaffection to his cause; and it is probable that had Charles roused himself from his natural indolence, and appeared immediately in arms, he might have established his claims. But he wasted the hours in deliberation which ought to

to have been devoted to action; and while Charles hesitated, Hugh had received the crown, and led on a considerable force, to humble the nobles that had refused him homage. The most considerable of these was William, duke of Guienne, or, as he is sometimes called, of Aquitaine; but while the king, who had entered his territories, invested the city of Poitiers, he was compelled to raise the siege by Charles, who had now collected a formidable army in Champagne. In his retreat the king was encountered by the duke of Guienne, who, in a short and bloody engagement, was defeated, and immediately made submission to his sovereign.

Hugh seized the opportunity of this victory to secure the crown to his family, and proposed in assembly of the nobles the association of his son Robert. The Barons, humbled by his late conquest, acquiesced; and Robert was crowned at Orleans, by the archbishop of Sens.

During this interval, Charles had taken the city of Laon, and with it the queen-dowager Emma, his implacable enemy. On the appearance of Hugh he retired within the walls; but afterwards by a successful sally, in which a considerable detachment of the king's troops were destroyed, he compelled his enemy to abandon the siege.

The city of Rheims, whose archbishopric had been given by Hugh to Arnold, the nephew of Charles, and the illegitimate son of Lothaire, as the price of his desertion, was afterwards betrayed by him to the duke of Lorraine; and he led on the troops of his uncle.

Hugh, to call the attention of Charles to the defence of Rheims, marched towards that city; and then suddenly changing his route, advanced to Laon, which he surprised by the intelligence of its bishop. The duke and dukes of Lorraine, who with the archbishop of Rheims were taken prisoners, were sent to Orleans, where they were held in an easy captivity for life. The duchy of Lorraine, however, was suffered to descend to their son, on whose death the male line of Charlemagne became extinct. But Arnold, whose perfidy had been betrayed by the priest to whom he had given orders to open the gates of Rheims, was degraded from his archbishopric, and the vacant see was bestowed on Gerbert, a monk of Rheims. The Pope, John the Fifteenth, indignant at not being consulted in this affair, revised the sentence, and Arnold was again seated in the archiepiscopal chair. He was still, however, detained in confinement by Hugh, who dreaded his intrigues more than the displeasure of the Pope.

Hugh Capet, though not distinguished by those splendid traits which mark the character of a hero, was wise, humane, and temperate. He conducted all his affairs with great pru-

dence and moderation. After having had the honour of establishing a new family, and in some measure a new form of government, with few circumstances of violence, he died in the eighth year of his reign, and was quietly succeeded by his son Robert, a prince of a less vigorous genius, though not of a less amiable disposition.

The most remarkable circumstance in the reign of Robert, is his excommunication by the Pope. This prince had espoused Bertha, his cousin in the fourth degree; a marriage not only lawful according to our present ideas of things, and justified by the practice of all nations, ancient and modern, but necessary to the welfare of the state, she being the sister of Rodolph, king of Burgundy. But the clergy, among their other usurpations, had about this time made a sacrament of marriage, and laid the most essential of civil engagements under spiritual prohibitions, which extended even to the seventh degree of consanguinity. The Pope's politically arrogated to themselves a special jurisdiction over the first object of society, and that on which all the rest hang. Gregory V. therefore undertook to dissolve the marriage between Robert and Bertha, though it had been authorised by several bishops; and in a council held at Rome, without examining the cause, and without hearing the parties, he published, with the most despotic authority, an imperious decree, which ordered the king and queen to be separated, under peril of excommunication. And all the bishops who had countenanced the pretended crime, were suspended from their functions, until such time as they should make satisfaction to the Holy See.

Robert, however, persisted in keeping his wife, and thereby incurred the sentence of excommunication, which had such an effect on the minds of men, that the king was abandoned by all his courtiers, and even by his own domestics, two servants excepted. And these threw to the dogs all the victuals which their master left at meals, and purified, by fire, the vessels in which he had been served; so fearful were they of what had been touched by an excommunicated person! The king, giving way to superstitious terrors, or afraid of civil commotions, at last repudiated his wife Bertha, and married Constance, daughter to the count of Arles, in whom he found an imperious permanent, instead of an amiable consort. Gregory also obliged him to restore the traitor Arnold to the see of Rheims.

There is not any monarch in the French history more highly commended than Robert, or on whose death the lamentations of all ranks of people

ple were louder and more sincere. The monks spoke the sense of the whole nation, when they deplored him in these words: "We have lost a father, who governed us in peace "We lived under him in security; for he did not oppress, "or suffer oppression. We loved him, and there was no- "body whom he feared."

Henry I. succeeded to the crown of his father at the age of twenty-seven, possessing the vigour of youth with the prudence and wisdom of mature years. His mother, Constance, during the late reign, had acquired a considerable party in the state, and, as she hated Henry, she wished to transfer his crown to her younger son, Robert.

The count of Flanders, and the turbulent Eudes, count of Champagne, were her chief abettors. Both of them had interested views in the part they acted; but the queen was willing to gratify their ambition, provided she could gratify her own revenge. She promised to Eudes half the towns of Sens, which, together with Melun and Soissons, he immediately reduced. This struck the neighbouring places with such consternation, that they threw open their gates upon his approach. Confounded, and unable to resist this sudden torrent of ill fortune, Henry, forsaken by his subjects, fled with only twelve attendants into Normandy; where he sought and found a generous friend and supporter in duke Robert, whose treasures and forces were employed in his cause. While the duke in person led on the Normans to conquest on one side of the kingdom, the king appeared on the other, and thrice defeated the count of Champagne, who with difficulty escaped with his life. Peace was at length restored by the mediation of Fulk, count of Anjou; Constance fell a victim to the violence of her disappointed passions; prince Robert received the duchy of Burgundy; and the submission of the counts of Flanders and Champagne was followed by that of the rest of the nobles. Henry repaid the services of the Duke of Normandy, by the duchies of Gisors, Chaumont, and Pontoise, and, by that portion of the Vexin which had till now belonged to France; and though this gift was an honourable testimony of his gratitude it effected a lamentable reduction of the dominions of the crown.

Though the settlement of the Normans in France had been of infinite service to the princes both of the Carolingian and Capetian lines; yet most of them would have been glad of a specious pretext for reuniting that great duchy to their crown; nor could Henry, notwithstanding the powerful obligations he lay under to the blood of Rollo, resist the temptation. Robert duke of Normandy, swayed by the idle
superstitions

superstitions of the age, had gone on a pilgrimage to the holy land, and had prevailed with the states of his duchy, before his departure, to receive and recognize as his successor, William, his natural son; and put him under the tuition of Henry, and Alain duke of Bretagne: the dissatisfaction which this step gave was general, and the affairs of the duchy fell into the greatest disorder, so that had not William, young as he was, exerted prodigies of valour in his own defence, he must have sunk under the rebellion. Alain endeavoured to serve him, but was obliged to return to his own estate, where he soon after died, not without suspicion of slow poison. Henry, far from attempting to protect William, or to quell those commotions, invaded the frontiers, took possession of the castle of Thuileries, to which he pretended to have a right, and burnt the town of Argenton. Perceiving, however, that he could not obtain the succession, he listened to the ministers of young William, with whom he joined his troops, and engaging the rebel lords, completely defeated them in the valley of Dunes, and thus established the duke of Normandy in his dominions. In this battle the king, thrown from his horse in the fury of the charge, was saved only by the immediate assistance of his attendants.

Henry married a princess of Russia; the daughter of Jarassan, duke of Muscovy; a circumstance somewhat singular, in an age when the intercourse between nations was so little familiar. His chief motive for this matrimonial alliance seems to have been, that the Pope might have no pretext for persecuting him on account of consanguinity, which, if he had married an European princess, it would have been almost impossible for him to have avoided, as it reached to the seventh degree of kindred. By this lady he had three sons; and the eldest, Philip, though but seven years of age, was, in an assembly of the states, and with their unanimous consent, solemnly crowned king by the archbishop of Rheims. Henry being at this time infirm, appointed Baldwin, count of Flanders, to be guardian to his son in case of A. D. 1060. his decease, which happened soon after; some say by poison, and others by the indiscreet use of medicine.

The character of this monarch, distinguished for prudence and intrepidity, is shaded by his attacks against the feeble youth of William, duke of Normandy, whose genius soon rose superior to that of any prince of his age.

C H A P. LIX.

Philip I. — Regency of Baldwin. — The Rage for Crusading breaks out, which is of great service to the French crown. Lewis VI. — His Character contrasted with that of Philip. Lewis VII. or the Young. — St. Bernard, with some Account of the second Crusade. — Two Kings hold the Stirrups of Pope Alexander on Horseback.

PHILIP at the time of his accession to the throne of France, was about eight years of age; and Henry had wisely committed him to the care of Baldwin the Pious, count of Flanders, his brother-in-law, in preference to his queen, who was a weak woman; or his brother, the duke of Burgundy, who was an ambitious prince. Henry's choice does honour to his memory. Baldwin had all the abilities, and, what is more extraordinary, all the virtues, that were requisite for the faithful discharge of his trust. Though we can scarcely suppose a juncture more delicate than that of a minority amidst a barbarous, but ambitious, nobility; and a superstitious, but designing, clergy; yet Baldwin kept both in awe, without losing the esteem and affection of either.

His administration, however, did not wholly escape censure. He was condemned for suffering so formidable a neighbour as the duke of Normandy to enlarge his dominions, and achieve the conquest of England. Whatever might be his motives for this conduct, it was productive of fatal consequences, and a series of destructive wars.

The period is now approaching which united England with Normandy; and as the affairs of France and England were after that event involved in one complicated system, it is necessary to give a slight sketch of the circumstances which illustrate the conquest of England.

On the dissolution of the Roman government in Britain, the island was successively harassed by the Scots, the Picts, the Danes, and the Saxons. Of these, the conquests of the latter were permanent, and the Saxon heptarchy was founded. The seven independent thrones that composed this heptarchy were united, in little more than three centuries under Egbert; and when William first aspired to the throne, it was occupied by Edward, surnamed the Confessor, whose partiality for him might assist the report that he had bequeathed him his crown. Emma, the sister of Richard of Normandy, was the mother of Edward; and, when the Danes compelled the British prince to flee, he found a shelter in the court of Normandy. Attached by the ties of blood

blood and gratitude to his protector, it is reasonable to suppose he would have preferred him to an aspiring subject, whose father had imbrued his hands in the royal blood of his brother, and whose own popularity increased the enmity of the king. But William was absent in Normandy when Edward expired; and Harold, the son of earl Goodwin, immediately ascended the throne. William disdained to disguise his sense of the injury, or to yield his lofty hopes; and the refusal of the sceptre, which he demanded in a formal embassy, was the signal of war. While Harold was in the north, repelling the invasion of Harpiger, king of Norway, William landed at Pevensey in Sussex. Harold was recalled from a glorious victory to oppose this formidable enemy. The fatal battle of Hastings, which was fought on the fourteenth of October, and in which the native valour of the English was very unequal to the discipline and artful manœuvres of the Normans, established the dominion of William. Harold fell in the engagement, pierced in the brain by a random arrow; and thus the British crown, which had been successively worn by a Saxon for five hundred years, was in one day transferred to a Norman.

On the death of the count of Flanders, which happened soon after the conquest of England. Philip, in the fifteenth year of his age, assumed the peaceable government of his kingdom.

His reign is not so remarkable for any thing, as his marriage with Bertrand de Montior, duchess of Anjou, while her husband and his queen were both alive. For this irregularity he was excommunicated by Urban II. in the famous council of Clermont, where the first crusade was preached for the recovery of the holy land, of which I have already given a particular account.

The rage for crusading, which now broke out, was of infinite service to the French crown in two respects. In the first place, it carried off hundreds of thousands of its turbulent subjects, and their leaders, who were almost independent of the king; and in the next, the king succeeded to the estates of numbers of the nobility, who died abroad without heirs.

In his wars with William the Conqueror, Philip was very successful. Hostilities were suspended for some time, when a jest of the French monarch was the cause of their being renewed. The king of England being very fat, was incommoded by his corpulency, and obliged for some time to keep his bed. Philip naturally witty, said one day to his courtiers, "When will this big man be brought to-bed?" William, being informed of this, was enraged. "I will go," said

said he, "and make my churching at Notre-Dame, in Paris, "with ~~ten~~ thousand spears, instead of wax tapers *."

William soon after rigorously fulfilled his word. He landed with a numerous army in France, possessed himself of the town of Mantes, and consigned it to the flames; but, as he withdrew from the heat of the fire, his horse, in leaping over a ditch, threw him on the pommel of the saddle, and a contusion he received proved fatal.

In consequence of the death of the queen of France, and Pope Urban II. Philip, who still continued to live with the countess of Anjou, was absolved by the new Pope, from the sentence of excommunication denounced in the council of Clermont. But although this absolution quieted in some measure his domestic troubles, his authority, which the thunder of the church, together with his indolent and licentious course of life, had ruined, was far from being restored. The nobility more and more affected independence, insulted him every hour, and plundered his subjects.

In order to remedy these evils, Philip associated his son Lewis in the government; or, at least, declared him, with the consent of the nobility, his suc- A. D. 1100.
cessor. This young prince was, in all respects, the reverse of his father. Philip, besides being indolent, was deficient in the virtues of the heart. His vices were not those of a noble mind, but the mean and odious propensities of a treacherous and avaricious nature. Lewis, on the other hand, was active, vigorous, affable, generous, and free from the vices incident to youth. He demolished the castles of the nobility, compelled them to make restitution to such as they had pillaged, and thus restored order to the state.

When this prince was about thirty years of age, his father died, and he succeeded without A. D. 1108.
the least opposition. He is generally called, by the old historians, Lewis the Gros, from his great size, and was the sixth Lewis that sat on the throne of France. Soon after his coronation, he engaged in a war against Henry I. of England, a powerful vassal, whom it was his interest to humble. The war was carried on with a variety of fortunes, during the greatest part of this reign, but without producing any remarkable event.

Whilst Lewis was devoting himself to the regulation of the inferior polity of his kingdom, he fell a sacrifice to the corpulency of his person. On his death-bed he ordered his son to be called to him, and gave him the following excellent advice. "By this sign," said he, drawing the ring

* Abbé Millot.

said, he resembled that legislator, who, though he promised to conduct the Israelites into a happy land, saw the first generation perish in the desert.

The conduct of his queen Eleanor, justly suspected of an amour with the prince of Antioch, had deeply affected Lewis, who being more delicate than politic, soon after his return, divorced her from his bed, restoring at the same time her inheritance, the important provinces of Guienne and Poitou. She immediately espoused his formidable vassal, Henry Plantagenet, duke of Normandy, count of Anjou and Maine, and presumptive heir to the crown of England; whilst he married Constance, the daughter of Alphonso, king of Castile.

After the death of Constance, who left the king two daughters only, Lewis, desirous of transmitting the crown to his posterity, formed with Adelaide, the daughter of Thibaud, earl of Champagne, a third marriage. This match gained Lewis a considerable accession of strength. In the dispute between the Popes Alexander III. and Victor III. Lewis, and Henry II. of England, befriended the former, and made preparations for resisting an invasion of France, which was threatened by the emperor in favour of the latter. Alexander held a council at Tours, and had the pleasure of seeing the kings of France and England, performing the office of grooms, and holding each of them a stirrup of his horse, while he proceeded in the most solemn gravity to a magnificent tent erected for him in the French camp.

Lewis had a daughter by Adelaide, whose name was Alice. She was betrothed to Richard, the second son of Henry, but was detained at the English court without the solemnization of the marriage. Public fame was clamorous against Henry on that account, and Lewis demanded justice of the Pope. Henry in his defence made some frivolous excuses about the non-fulfilment of the terms of marriage; and his holiness not treating the matter with any degree of asperity, the two monarchs were not only reconciled, but agreed to accompany each other in an expedition to the *Holy Land*. This measure seems to have been agreed to merely to please the Pope; for Henry had not the least inclination to perform his engagements, and Lewis found it impracticable.

The wife of Lewis, by this time, had brought him a son, who was afterwards so well known by name of Augustus. When this young prince, the hope of the French monarchy, was beginning to learn to ride, his horse ran away with him; and he passed a whole night in a forest, but returned the next day. The effect of this fright was a

dangerous illness, which made such an impression upon the spirit of his father, that he performed a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket, to solicit his interposition for the recovery of young Philip:

When Lewis arrived at Canterbury, he met with a noble and generous reception from Henry, and on his return found his son recovered. But his own health now sunk under the united pressure of years and of anxiety. A fit of apoplexy, succeeded by a paralytic stroke, which deprived him of the use of his right side, warned him of his approaching desolation: He therefore gave orders for the speedy coronation of his son, which was performed by the archbishop of Rheims, with great solemnity. The marriage of Philip with Isabella, the daughter of the count of Hainault soon followed. But Lewis did not long survive either ceremony. No art of medicine being able to arrest the progress of his disorder, he died at Paris in the A. D. 1180: sixtieth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign.

It may not be improper to give some account of this prince's family, as several of their names may again occur; in the subsequent parts of this history. His first wife Eleanor, to whom he behaved so generously, and who, by all accounts, was a woman of unbounded intrigue, died at an advanced period of life. The two daughters he had by her, were Mary, wife to Henry, count of Champagne, and Alice, who married Thibaut, count of Blois, brother to the said count. Lewis, by his second marriage with Constantia of Castile, had likewise two daughters, Margaret, married to Henry the younger, king of England; and afterwards, having no children by him, to Bela III. king of Hungary. This princess becoming a widow the second time, devoted the remainder of her life to be spent in the Holy Land; and she died at Ptolemais, in 1197. The other sister, Alice, died unmarried. Lewis, by his third wife, Adelaide, daughter to Thibaut, count of Champagne, a princess of great merit and beauty had, besides his successor, Philip Augustus, two daughters, Alice, whose history is so mysterious, and who had been long contracted to Richard of England; but was afterwards married to William, count of Ponthieu, and died in 1195. The name of his second daughter by the same marriage, was Agnes. When she was but ten years of age, she was contracted to Alexis Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople; and next year their marriage was celebrated with great magnificence. She afterwards married the murderer and successor of her husband, Andronicus I. and he likewise being dethroned and murdered, she married Theodore

dore Bramas, lord of Adrianople.† Adelaide, the third wife of Lewis, gave her husband a most magnificent interment in a monastery of his own founding, at Barbeau on the Seine. His body was put into the tomb with a golden cross at his breast, and rings on his fingers. His monument was afterwards opened by Charles IX. who found the body entire, with the above ornaments, and he himself wore the rings.

CHAP. LX.

Philip II. surnamed Augustus.—Distresses of the Asiatic Christians.—The third Crusade.—Philip marries a Danish Princess.—His Character as a Legislator.—His useful Works.

PHILIP II. whose various epithets of the *Gift of God*, *Magnanimous*, and *Conquering*, settled at last, into that of *Augustus*, was fifteen years of age at the time of his accession to the throne, and gave early proofs of his genius for government. The count of Flanders, acted as his tutor or first minister; but he took the executive power into his own hands, and began his reign with two popular acts. The first was the banishment of all buffoons and jesters from his court, and of the Jews who were noted for usury. The nobility attempted to protect them; but they were obliged to yield to the king, who was supported by his people.

A court faction, however, soon interrupted the public tranquillity. Adelaide, the king's mother, jealous of the partiality he discovered for the count of Flanders, united with her brother William, the cardinal, and archbishop of Rheims, in intrigues to dissolve the marriage of her son. But their efforts were vain, and Philip manifested his displeasure by appointing the coronation of himself and Isabella at the abbey of St. Dennis, and commanding the ceremony to be performed by the archbishop of Sens, instead of the archbishop of Rheims. Adelaide afterwards solicited and obtained the aid of Henry of England, who met her in Normandy, and advanced with a numerous army to enforce her demands; but a peace was soon after negotiated, in which the wisdom and moderation of Philip were conspicuous.

Upon the death of the countess of Flanders, who had been heiress to the county of Vermandois, the emperor of Germany stepped in to the assistance of the count, when Philip offered

offered to annex that county to his crown. This was another quarrel, excited by the jealousy of the nobility against the king. Philip affirmed that the alienation of the county of Vermandois from the crown, ought to last no longer than the efforts made by the count and his friends. Philip re-annexed it to his domain, and left nothing to the count of Flanders but the towns of Perron, and St. Quintin.

On the death of the younger Henry of England, who died in France without issue, Philip A. D. 1184. claimed from the elder Henry Gisors, and some other dependencies in Normandy, which had been given to his sister Margaret as a dowry. A reconciliation followed, by the elder Henry performing homage to Philip for all the lands he held in France, and promising that his son Richard should marry the princess Alice.

The unhappy passion which the elder Henry is supposed to have entertained for that princess, was a fruitful source of calamity to his reign and person. It gave the princes of his family, and his queen Eleanor, whom he kept prisoner for twelve years before her death, a perpetual subject for complaint and dissatisfaction.

About this time, the Christians of Asia were in imminent danger of being driven from Jerusalem. The Turks were determined to dispossess them of the holy city. With No-radine at their head, they began to put their design in execution; and Saladin, his successor, accomplished it.

Saladin had, in a short time conquered Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. In possession of these countries, he determined upon the conquest of Jerusalem, rent by the violence of faction. Guy de Lusignan, then king of Jerusalem, assembled the Christians, marched against Saladin, who, having drawn the Christian army into a narrow pass, obliged Guy and his troops to surrender prisoners of war. From the field of battle he marched to Jerusalem, which opened her gates to the conqueror, and put an end to that little kingdom, after it had existed near a century.

The victories of the brave and generous Saladin filled Europe with alarm and trouble; and the news of Jerusalem being taken proved fatal to Urban III. who died of grief. The Christian princes, eager to recover the holy land, suspended their particular quarrels, and prepared a third crusade. Frederic Barbarossa, one of the greatest emperors that ever reigned in Germany, a wise politician, well acquainted with the art of war, and whose arms had been often successful, marched by land at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand warriors. Philip Augustus went by sea, followed by a well-appointed army. Richard Cœur de Lion, king of England, the hero of the crusade, marched

at the head of the English nobility, and a chosen body of troops.

Frederic was obliged to fight the Greeks, who, afraid of the crusaders, had made an alliance with Saladin. He opened a passage into Thrace, though opposed by the emperor Isaac Angelus, and twice defeated the Sultan of Iconium; but having bathed while hot, in the river Cydnus, he died, and his victories became of no consequence. The arrival of Philip revived the hopes of the crusades. He defeated the Saracens, took several towns, and laid siege to Acre. Richard hastened to second his efforts. He had been necessarily detained in Sicily, and during his stay, had regulated the affairs of that island. In his passage to the Archipelago, a storm and want of provisions obliged him to touch at Cyprus. He requested refreshments for his troops from Isaac, king of that island, who had the inhumanity to deny him. Richard, provoked at his refusal, lands his troops; defeats Isaac, puts him and his family in irons, and causes himself to be crowned king of the whole island. Having performed this achievement, he continued his route to the holy land, where he arrived, covered with glory. Philip, jealous of Richard's superior talents for war, feigns sickness and returns to France, having promised, with an oath, not to molest his rival's territories during his absence. Richard, master of the field of honour, displayed the most heroic courage, took the city of Acre, defeated Saladin's generals in many battles, engaged Saladin himself, and had the honour to disarm him. In the midst of these successes, he was informed, that Philip Augustus, in contempt of his oath, had taken advantage of his absence to seize part of Normandy, and had even excited his brother to rebel. This news induced him to conclude a truce with Saladin, by which the Christians of Palestine were to enjoy peace; but he was obliged to allow the Sultan to remain in possession of Jerusalem, and to give up the end of the crusade. On his return he was made prisoner by the duke of Austria, and confined in a dungeon in Germany, from whence he purchased his release by a very large ransom.

Philip's queen, Isabella, having died in his absence, he married Ingerberge, daughter of Waldemar, and sister to Canute, king of Denmark. His motive for this match was mean and mercenary. He insisted upon Canute making over to him all the claims the Danes had upon England; and upon his lending him a fleet for making it good, which Canute refused.

Ingerberge, whose virtues were incapable of fixing the affections of the insensible monarch, retired at his command to a monastery; whither she was followed by the esteem of
a people

a people who knew how to value her modesty, her piety, and her patience. A divorce, under the common pretence of consanguinity, was granted by the subservient prelates: and the king, three years after his union with Ingerberge, had married Agnes, the daughter of the duke of Dalmatia. The Dane, fired by the indignity offered his sister, appealed to the Pope; and, after a variety of sentences, Philip was compelled to resign Agnes, and recal Ingerberge. Agnes, too sensible of her degradation, fell a victim to grief, and the Pope, who had exiled her from her husband, legitimated their son and daughter.

The extensive possessions, which the royal family of England had in France, were perpetual sources of misfortunes to both kingdoms. Queen Eleanor of Guienne, formerly queen-consort of France, was yet alive, and, on the death of Richard, saw her youngest son John on that throne; which was also claimed by Arthur, the grandson of Henry II. by his third son Geoffrey. The inexperience of Arthur was directed by the vigorous counsels of his mother Constance; a princess of a haughty and implacable, bold and turbulent disposition. Anjou, Touraine, and Maine acknowledged the authority of Arthur; and Agnes was delivered by the governor into his power.

While Philip, in support of the claim of Arthur, entered Normandy, John seized on the capital of Maine, and razed the walls, as an example of terror to other towns, which might be inclined to revolt. Doubtful of his own strength, John wished to negotiate a peace; and offered to Lewis, the eldest son of Philip, his niece Blanche, the daughter of Alonzo king of Castile; promising to entail upon that princess, in case he died without issue, all his territories in France.

Hardly any vice, which can enter into the composition of a king, or a man, was a stranger to John. He had repudiated the daughter of the duke of Gloucester, and had married Isabel of Angouleme, who had been betrothed to the count of March, who resented the injury done him. Tho' both Philip and the lady's father had at first approved of the match, yet on the representation which the count made, Philip resolved to improve the disaffection that had been raised by the count against John to his own purpose; and encouraged young Arthur to march with an army to besiege his grandmother Eleanor, in the castle of Mirabeau. John passing from England with an army to her relief, defeated Arthur, took him prisoner, and sent him to the castle of Rouen, where he was murdered, some say, by John's own hands. Philip did not fail to improve to his own advantage every circumstance of this barbarity, especially as the barons

in England were then in arms against John, who was abandoned by almost all the world. Philip summoned him to appear before his court at Paris, and he not appearing, Philip went through all the minute forms of law; John was convicted of felony, and as such, Normandy, and all his possessions in France, were judged to be forfeited to that crown. To give this sentence effect, Philip entered Normandy with a strong army, and though Chateau-Galliard, and some other places made a brave resistance, yet John unaccountably retired to England. Philip reduced first the higher, then the lower, Normandy, and at last the city of Rouen itself, reannexing them all to his own crown, after they had been separated from it three hundred years.

Philip died at Mante, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign. The great success he met with in reviving the lustre of the French monarchy, has screened his memory from the censure due to the many acts of meanness, barbarity and treachery he perpetrated in establishing his greatness. It must be allowed at the same time, that he was the legislator and civilizer of his country. In these respects, he was one of the greatest kings that France had seen since the days of Charlemagne. He improved the military discipline and fortifications of the kingdom. If he amassed money, it was to lay it out on the noblest purposes; namely, in making roads, building bridges, and raising magnificent edifices,

CHAP. LXI.

Lewis VIII.—Crusade against the Albigenſes.—Lewis IX.—His Character.—The laſt Crusade.—Achievements of Lewis.—He is taken Priſoner and releaſed.—He dies in Africa.—Philip III.—Sicilian Vespers.—Inſtitution of Parliaments, and admiſſion of the Commons.—Suppreſſion of the Knights Templars.—Flemish Expedition.—Domestic Troubles.—Philip's Death and Character.—Lewis X. ſurnamed the Boiſterous.—Philip the Tall.—Wiſdom of the Salique Law.—Charles IV. the laſt of the Capatine Kings.

A. D. 1223. **P**HILIP left the kingdom of France twice as large as he had received it; ſo that future acquiſitions became eaſy to his ſucceſſors. Lewis VIII. however, did not enlarge the monarchy. His ſhort reign was chiefly ſpent in a crusade againſt the Albigenſes. Chriſtians did not always aſſume the badge of the croſs to fight againſt infidels. The madneſs of bigotry, and
a per-

a persecuting ſpirit produced a crusade for the destruction of Christians. Opposition to errors in doctrine, as well as to the pride and ambition of the clergy, had rendered many of the southern provinces of France obnoxious to the church of Rome. They refused to acknowledge, as ministers of the religion of the humble Jesus, men who were destitute of humility, meekness, and self-denial. These witnesses for the truth were called, by a general name, Albigenſes. Innocent III. alarmed at their principles and opposition to the clergy, determined to extirpate them. A crusade was preached against them; and the Pope having prevailed upon Lewis, almost against his will, to put himself at the head of it, he marched with his army into Languedoc, where he demanded entrance into Avignon. This city had belonged to the kings of Naples and Sicily, as kings of Arles and Provence, and having protected many of the Albigenſes, it had been often devoted to destruction by the papal excommunications. The people offered Lewis entrance into their city, if he would give them any assurance of quarter; which he durst not venture to do without the Pope's leave. This rendered their defence very desperate for eight months, and then Lewis, seeing his army reduced to a handful, by the sword, distempers, and famine, granted them a capitulation.

Lewis was then preparing to return to Paris, but falling sick on the road, he died at Montpensier, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. We are told by an English historian *, who lived at this time, that during the siege of Avignon, famine and pestilence prevailed in the French camp, and killed all kinds of cattle and beasts of burden; that the French being obliged to forage at a great distance from their camp, were cut off by the friends of the besieged, and parties from the town; that the vast number of dead bodies bred such a number of gnats, flies and vermin of every kind, as to render it impossible for the survivors either to sleep or eat with comfort, or safety. The king of France, upon this, ordered all the dead bodies to be thrown into the Rhone, and retired to Montpensier, that he might avoid the infection. While he remained there, expecting every day to hear that the town was surrendered, Henry count of Champagne applied to him for leave to return home, the forty days being expired, for which he had engaged service. The king rejected his suit, and swore, that if he resisted in it, he would lay waste the count's dominions in fire and sword.

The same historian informs us of a report then prevailing the count's being deeply in love with the queen, which,

* Matthew Paris.

together with the affront he had received, induced him to give the king poison. The legates and prelates about his person gave out, upon the death of Lewis, that he was only indisposed, but that he would recover in a short time; and that his orders to the general officers of his army, were to push the siege with all imaginable vigour. The citizens, however, continuing to make a resolute defence, the legates thought proper to mention an accommodation, and to invite twelve of the chief citizens to a conference. The legate then proposed that he and the other prelates, with their trains only, might be permitted to enter the city, to discourse with the inhabitants concerning the state of their souls, and that they might have an opportunity of clearing them to his holiness from the imputation of heresy. The deputies declared, that their countrymen were resolved to endure all extremities, rather than submit to French tyranny; but the prelates taking a solemn oath that they meant no more than they pretended, the deputies were, with great difficulty, prevailed upon to take them with them into the town. The gates being opened, a party of the French, as had been preconcerted, rushed in, and getting the better of the centinels, put the inhabitants to the sword, and became masters of the city, which they plundered.

The Pope, at this time, established the court of inquisition, which, in the name of the God of peace, has exercised for several centuries the most shocking cruelties. Of all the unjust tribunals established upon earth, the inquisition is the most iniquitous. This tribunal allows suspicions to be good proof, the appearance of a crime to be really a crime, sustains the evidence of the most infamous informer, and, without mercy, commits thousands of unfortunate victims to the flames. The power of this infernal tribunal is now much less than it once was; and we may indulge the hope, that the time is not distant, when it will be totally annihilated.

The innocent Albigenses, pursued by their enemies, fell by the swords of the crusaders, or expired in the midst of flames kindled by the inquisition. Many cities were pillaged and destroyed, and their inhabitants massacred, while the priests, who accompanied the armies, were the first to set fire to the towns and villages. Raymond, count of Thoulouse, sovereign of Languedoc, was excommunicated for attempting to assist his subjects; and to save his life, obliged to humble himself before a haughty legate, and submit to the most ignominious penance. But all the cruelties Rome could inflict, did not wholly extirpate the Albigenses; they continued till the reformation, and became a part of the Protestants.

Lewis IX. commonly called St. Lewis, was
 A. D. 1226. scarce twelve years of age when his father died. During his minority, a variety of disorders

orders arose in France, occasioned chiefly by the ambition of the powerful vassals of the crown. But all these were happily composed by the prudence and firmness of Blanche of Castile, the regent and queen-mother.

Lewis no sooner came of age than he was universally acknowledged to be the greatest prince in Europe; and his character is, perhaps, the most singular in the annals of history. To the mean and abject superstition of a monk, he united all the courage of a hero; nay, what may be deemed still more wonderful, the justice and integrity of the sincere patriot; and, where religion was not concerned, the mildness and humanity of the true philosopher.

Being seized with a dangerous illness, which deprived him of his senses, and almost of his life, his heated imagination took fire, and he thought he heard a voice commanding him to shed the blood of infidels. He accordingly made a vow, as soon as he recovered to engage in a crusade. His mother, wife, and council, used every argument to dissuade him from such an undertaking. But the circumstances of his kingdom, the interest of his family, and the danger attending so rash an enterprise, were not sufficient to divert him from his design. He was told that a rash vow is not binding, and that the first duty of a king is to consult the happiness of his people. This salutary advice made no impression on Lewis. After spending four years in preparation, and in settling the government of his kingdom, which he left to the care of his mother, he set out, accompanied by his queen, his three brothers, and almost all the knights of France. Edward, son of Henry III. king of England, joined the crusade with a numerous body of nobility. The army embarked at Aguemortes, sailed for Egypt, and landed near Damietta, a strong city, at the mouth of the Nile. The Mahometans, who lined the shore, attempted, in vain, to hinder the Christians from landing. Lewis, in complete armour, leaped first on shore. The city of Damietta, which had formerly resisted the attack of the Christians for sixteen months, was evacuated by the infidels on the first assault. But the career of the French king, as he proceeded towards Cairo, was checked by an inundation of the Nile, and by an epidemical disease which this occasioned in his camp. The barons and knights of France exhibited, under the command of their intrepid sovereign, an invincible contempt of danger. About two thousand of the flower of the army, led by the count of Artois, passed the deep and rapid Nile, and with rash valour assaulted the town of Maf-soura. The consternation of the inhabitants disappeared when they learned that the main body of the French were separated by the Nile from the assailants; and, before the

Christians could arrive, the count of Artois and his companions had gloriously perished in the conflict.

After an arduous contest the French were victorious over the Saracens. This conquest served only to increase their distress; they were compelled by the accumulating forces of the infidels, to shelter themselves in a strong camp; while the Nile was occupied by the galleys of Egypt, and the open country by the Arabs. All provision was intercepted, and to retreat was impracticable. Lewis indeed might have escaped by sea; but he gloriously disdained to forsake his subjects in this distress. After suffering all the horrors of disease and famine, and the incessant fire of the surrounding Saracens, the king, with his brothers, the count of Anjou, the chief part of his nobles, and the small remains of his army, were taken captives by the victorious infidels.

The splendor of his triumph was obscured by the barbarity of the conquerors, who loaded even their royal prisoners with chains; and who, after having cruelly massacred his subjects who were unable to ransom their lives, exposed their heads on the walls of Cairo, the capital of Egypt. The strength of Dameitta, to which he had intrusted the queen and his treasures, was the security of Lewis; who at length obtained his deliverance, with that of his queen and his soldiers, by restoring that city, and paying four hundred thousand pieces of silver.

Thus ended the crusades, undertaken for the recovery of the holy land. These expeditions were the consequence of the religious sentiments and manners of the middle ages, and a lasting proof of the bad effect of wrong principles. The Christians of Europe, took no farther concern in the affairs of their brethren in the east; and the settlements they had made there, being deprived of assistance, soon came to nothing.

Lewis afterwards led a new army against the infidels of Africa, where he was seized with an epidemic distemper, and died. His son and successor, Philip III. kept the field against the Moors, and saved the remains of the French army, which procured him the name of the Hardy.

The most remarkable circumstance in the A D. 1270. reign of Philip III. a prince of some merit, but much inferior to his father, is the interest that he took in the affairs of his uncle Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily, whose subjects had for some time submitted with indignation to his cruelty and tyranny. A conspiracy was formed under the auspices of Michael Palæologus, the Greek emperor; a Sicilian nobleman having secretly prepar-
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ed the minds of his countrymen for a revolt, to which the following accident gave birth.

On the evening of Easter-day, as the French and Sicilians were going in procession to the church of Monreale, in the neighbourhood of Palermo, a bride happened to pass by with her train; when one Droquet, a Frenchman, instantly ran to her, and began to use her in a rude manner, under pretence of searching for concealed arms. A young Sicilian, flaming with resentment, stabbed Droquet to the heart; a tumult ensued, and two hundred Frenchmen were slain on the spot. The enraged populace now ran to the city, crying aloud, "*Kill the French! Kill the French!*"—and, without any distinction of age or sex, murdered every person of that nation found in Palermo. The same fury spread itself through the whole island, and produced a general massacre, to which historians give the name of the *Sicilian Vespers*.

Peter, king of Arragon, was saluted at Palermo as king of the island. Charles immediately assembled a powerful armament at Marseilles, and formed the siege of Messina; which the inhabitants in vain offered to surrender, upon a promise of pardon. But in the mean time his son Charles, surnamed the *Lame*, having hazarded an engagement, was taken prisoner by the rebels. The king, unable to support or conceal his sufferings from this last shock, sunk into the grave; and Sicily, after a war of twenty years, was finally transferred, as an independent kingdom, to a younger branch of the house of Arragon.

Upon the death of Charles of Anjou, the Pope had conferred Sicily upon Charles of Valois, a younger son of the king of France; and Philip, who supported his claim, derived some hopes of success from the death of Peter, and the surrender of Gironne. But his fleet was again defeated, and this misfortune co-operated with the fatigues of war, and the heat of the climate, to shorten the life of Philip, who died at Perpignan, in the forty-first year of his age, and the sixteenth of an unsuccessful reign.

The reign of Philip IV. surnamed the *Fair*, the son and successor of Philip the *Hardy*, is distinguished by the institution of the supreme tribunals, called *Parliaments*, and the formal admission of the commons, or third estate, into the general assemblies of the nation. The French commons, however, were afterwards excluded from these assemblies.

This period is also remarkable for the suppression and extirpation of the *Knights Templars*, who were originally an order of Monks, that settled near the temple of Jerusalem, when it was first taken by the champions of the cross. In

a short time they acquired, from the piety of the faithful, ample possessions in every Christian country, but more especially in France. The great riches of those Knights had relaxed the severity of their discipline. Being all men of birth, they at last scorned the ignoble occupations of a monastic life, and passed their time in the fashionable amusements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleasures of the table. By these means the Templars lost that popularity which first raised them to honour and distinction; and Philip, in concert with Pope Clement V, judged them unprofitable to the church, and dangerous to the state.

If we except the Venetians, the Flemings, at this time, were, perhaps, the most flourishing people of Europe. Many of them, to whom Guy de Dampier, count of Flanders, was not acceptable, wished for a French government; when Philip openly declared his intention of reuniting that country to his crown.

With this view, he and his queen made a most magnificent entrance into Flanders, where they endeavoured to amuse the Flemings with the most pompous exhibitions of their grandeur, and to render themselves popular by abolishing some oppressive taxes. They could not, however, have pitched upon a more disagreeable person than John de Chatillon was, for the government of that country, to which he was appointed by the queen's interest. He fortified the towns of his government, and countenanced the magistrates in oppressing the people, who were remarkably tenacious of their privileges; so that the whole country was soon filled with discontent. The people of Bruges were headed by a dyer in opposing the French government; but he and his associates were soon driven out of the city, which Chatillon entered at the head of seventeen hundred French horse preceded by two hogsheds full of ropes, which Chatillon publicly declared were to be employed in hanging the chiefs of the rebels. Dispositions were made accordingly; but the people ran to arms, and recalling the dyer, cut in pieces fifteen hundred of the French horse, who were to have guarded the executions; Chatillon himself escaping with great difficulty by swimming across the town ditch in the night-time. A general revolt of the country followed, when after the loss of several thousand men on both sides, Philip was prevailed upon to return to France.

Not long after, Philip revived his quarrel with the count of Flanders. The powerful vassals of his crown, however, disliked the expedition, and both his parliament and people so much disliked the oppressive measures which his ministers pursued for raising money, that they refused to supply him. Philip was in this situation, and at the head of an army, when
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the count offered to agree to a fresh treaty, and to give hostages for the performance of the terms, and in the mean time, to put Courtray into the king's hands. Philip was obliged to except of those conditions.

Upon his return to Paris, he found an universal dissatisfaction among his subjects, which, if he had not laid aside his Flemish expedition, would have produced a general rebellion.

Afflictions of a still more tender nature, at this time, distressed Philip. The three princesses, to whom his three sons had been married, proved unfaithful to their marriage-beds. The queen of Navarre, daughter to the duke of Burgundy, and the count de la March's wife, were convicted of adultery with Philip, and Walter de Launay. The ladies were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and their paramours after being flayed alive, were hanged upon gibbets. This sentence did not satisfy the king of Navarre, for he ordered his wife to be strangled in the place of her confinement.

These disappointments and domestic misfortunes threw Philip into a consumption, which carried him off in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the forty-seventh of his age. He was certainly a prince of great talents; and, notwithstanding his vices, France ought to respect his memory. By fixing the parliaments, or supreme courts of judicature, he secured the ready execution of justice to all his subjects; and, though his motive might not be the most generous for calling in the third estate into the national council, he by that measure put it into the power of the French nation to have established a free government.

The favourite brother of Philip the late king, Charles de Valois, had, during that reign, acquired such experience in the affairs of the French monarchy, that he retained all his influence under this prince. Lewis succeeded his father under great disadvantages. The people were discontented, and the treasury exhausted to such a degree, that he was unable, for some time, to defray the expences of his coronation. He was, besides, apprehensive, from the public discontents, of an insurrection, which might interrupt the solemnity. Charles de Valois undertook, on the part of his nephew, that the nobility, who thought their privileges had been impaired during the late reign, should be restored to all they had possessed under Lewis, and the ceremony was performed at Rheims by the archbishop of that city.

Lewis began his reign with an act of injustice. At the instigation of his uncle, the count of Valois, he caused his prime minister Marigny to be executed, on account of many pretended crimes, and magic among the rest; but in reality

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on account of his supposed riches, which were confiscated to the crown.

But neither the confiscation of Marigny's effects, nor of those who were styled his accomplices, being sufficient for the king's wants, he extorted money from the nobility, under various pretences. He levied a tenth upon the clergy. He sold enfranchisements to the slaves employed in cultivating the royal dominions; and when they would not purchase their freedom, he declared them free, whether they would or not, and levied the money by force! He died like his father, after an unsuccessful attempt upon Flanders.

The general sense of the French nation, at this time, favoured the salique law, and though Lewis X. left a daughter, yet his brother Philip V. surnamed the Tall, mounted the throne, in preference to the princess. The duke of Burgundy made some opposition, and asserted the right of his niece. The states of the kingdom, however, by a solemn and deliberate decree, excluded her, and declared all females for ever incapable of succeeding to the crown of France.

The wisdom of this decree is too evident to need being pointed out. It not only prevents those evils which necessarily proceed from female caprices and tender partialities, so apt to make a minister from love, and degrade him from whim; but is attended with this peculiar advantage, that a foreigner can never become sovereign of France by marriage; a circumstance always dangerous, and often productive of the most fatal revolutions.

The reign of Philip the Tall, and also of his brother Charles IV. surnamed the Fair, were both short; nor was either distinguished by any memorable event. Charles left only one daughter, and consequently no heir to the crown. But, as his queen was pregnant, Philip de Valois, the next male heir, was appointed regent, with a declared right of succession, if the issue should prove female. The queen of France was delivered of a daughter; the regency ended, and Philip de Valois was unanimously placed on the throne of France.

C H A P. LXII.

Philip VI. the first of the Race of Valois.—Claim of Edward III.—Hostilities commence, and Calais is taken.—Origin of the Title of Dauphin.—Death and Character of Philip.

THOUGH the claim of Edward king of England, who asserted his right to the A. D. 1336. French crown, as a grandson of a daughter of Philip IV. was rejected by the general voice, and that of Philip universally acknowledged, yet the latter could not reflect on this claim with indifference; and, when he summoned the English monarch to pay homage, and received only a contemptuous silence, he seized on the revenues of his lands in France. To recover these Edward crossed the channel, to submit to the ceremony at Amiens; where Philip prudently consented to dispense with the servile forms, and to receive the homage in any way, provided it should hereafter be explained in the manner most satisfactory to him.

Edward, however, studiously omitted some circumstances of the demanded homage; which though Philip perceived, he carried his affectation of politeness so far, that he only gently admonished Edward to examine, upon his return to England, whether he had not omitted some part of the ceremony.

The queen-dowager of England and Mortimer, were so desirous to preserve peace with France, that they condemned Edward for refusing to submit to the performance of the whole ceremonial as prescribed by the French. The princes of the blood and the great lords of France were not so complaisant as Philip, whom they upbraided with his tameness in receiving Edward's partial performance of his homage. The bishop of Lincoln, Edward's chancellor, who accompanied him to the French court, perceived their discontent both in their countenances and discourse, and secretly hinted to Edward, that it was very possible the French king might extend his sovereign power so far as to arrest him; upon which Edward departed for England without taking leave, and was at Windsor before it was known that he had left France. He was followed by an embassy, who had an audience of Edward and his council, where it was determined by his mother's and Mortimer's influence, that he had been guilty of an omission in performing his homage. His complaisance now went so far, as immediately to order an instrument to be made out, acknowledging the deficiency, and promising to supply it according to the ceremonial prescribed by the French court.

Hostilities,

Hostilities, however, soon after commenced. The English triumphed over the French at Cressy, and after a long siege, took Calais; but of this a more particular account will be given, when we come to treat of the affairs of England.

As Calais was an important acquisition to England, Edward did not fail of improving it to the full. He laid the French officers that remained in it under arrest; declaring that his intention was to people it entirely with his English subjects. After giving the inhabitants plenty of victuals and drink, Edward ordered them all to leave the place, except one priest, and two old men, whom he retained to point out the constitution and boundaries of the settlement, which soon became a flourishing colony, and continued so for above two hundred years.

About this time prince Humbert of Dauphiny, who had been disappointed of marrying Joan the daughter of the duke of Burgundy, resigned his dominions to Charles the grandson of Philip, who had received the hand of that lady, and retired into the order of St. Dominic. From this time Dauphiny has afforded the title of Dauphin to the eldest son of the crown.

Philip died a natural death in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. His character would have been much greater, had he not been contemporary with Edward. He could not defend his crown against so powerful a prince, and make the acquisitions he did, without immense sums, for which he was obliged to load his people, to whom his haughty temper had rendered him odious. But though his subjects were impoverished and harassed during his reign, they behaved with invincible loyalty, which his misfortunes did not abate. The royal prerogative of France, in his time, obtained a considerable addition of strength by the introduction of writs of error, which are of the same nature with the English statute of premunire, and were intended to be checks upon the ecclesiastical and inferior courts, who by their decrees or proceedings invaded any part of the royal authority.

C H A P. LXIV.

John, surnamed the Good.—Battle of Poitiers.—John taken Prisoner.—He is ransomed.—Returns to London, and there dies.

EVERY circumstance promised the people of France happiness under this prince. He was forty years of age at the time of his accession. He had commanded armies with courage, and often with success, and he had managed negotiations with address and wisdom. He wanted, however, that prudent foresight, which in the present state of his kingdom was particularly requisite.

Charles, king of Navarre, surnamed the wicked, and whose conduct fully entitled him to that appellation, was the principal author of the calamities which now ensued. He was descended from the males of the blood royal of France. His mother was daughter of Lewis X. and he had himself married a daughter of the reigning king; but all these ties which ought to have connected him with the throne, gave him only greater power to shake and overthrow it. He secretly entered into a correspondence with the king of England; and he seduced, by his address, Charles, afterwards surnamed the *Wise*, the king of France's eldest son, and the first who bore the title of Dauphin. The young prince, however, made sensible of the danger and folly of such connections, promised to make atonement for the offence by the sacrifice of his associates. In concert with his father, he accordingly invited the king of Navarre, and other noblemen of the party, to a feast at Rouen, where they were betrayed into the hands of John. Some of the most obnoxious were immediately led to execution, and the king of Navarre was thrown into prison. But this stroke of severity in the French monarch, and of treachery in the Dauphin, was far from proving decisive in restoring the royal authority. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles the Bad, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, put all the towns and castles belonging to that prince in a posture of defence; and they had immediate recourse to England in this desperate extremity.

The truce between the two kingdoms, which had always been ill observed on both sides, was now expired; so that Edward was at liberty to support the French malcontents. The war was again renewed; and after a variety of fortunes, but chiefly in favour of the English, an event happened which nearly proved fatal to the French monarchy.

The prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, encouraged by the success of the first campaign, took the field with an army only of twelve thousand men; and with that small body he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. King John, provoked at the insult offered him by this incursion, collected an army of sixty thousand combatants, and advanced by hasty marches to intercept his enemy. The prince, not aware of John's near approach, lost some days, on his march, before the castle of Remorantin, and thereby gave the French monarch an opportunity of overtaking him. The pursuers came within sight at Maupertuis, near Poitiers; and young Edward, sensible that his retreat was now become impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a hero, and all the prudence of an experienced general. No degree of prudence or courage, however, could have saved him, had the king of France known how to make use of his present advantages. John's superiority in numbers enabled him to surround the English camp, and by intercepting all provisions, to reduce the prince to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. But the impatient ardour of the French nobility prevented this idea from striking any of the commanders; so that they immediately took measures for the assault, with full assurance of victory. But they found themselves miserably mistaken. The hostile armies engaged; and this memorable and bloody action terminated in the total defeat of the French, and in the captivity of John; who, after fighting with the most obstinate valour, surrendered himself to Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras. He was received and entertained by the generous conqueror, with the utmost respect, the prince of Wales serving at his table, as if he had been one of his retinue. A truce was now granted by Edward, who conveyed his royal captive to London; where, in the same respectful conduct he found an alleviation of his misfortune.

Edward, having afterwards assumed the title of king of France, invaded the kingdom, and at length appeared at the gates of Paris. That city, however, was provided with magazines, which secured it from famine, and with inhabitants so numerous as to defy the attacks of the English monarch; who, at last convinced of the fallacy of his hopes of obtaining the French crown, inclined towards peace; when it was agreed, that John should pay three millions of crowns of gold for his ransom, and that Guienne, Poitou, Santoigne, and several other territories in the neighbourhood of Calais, should be granted to Edward, in compensation for Normandy, which he relinquished.

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After a captivity of four years John returned to Paris but France was still destined to lament his former imprudence; being ravaged by a band of military adventurers, who had followed Edward, and who refused to lay down their arms. A pestilential disorder also carried off, in Paris alone, thirty thousand persons in one year. John, oppressed by the immense ransom which he had agreed to pay, gave his daughter in marriage to Galeas, the son of the duke of Milan, and received the sum of six hundred thousand crowns. The Jews also were permitted to purchase their return for twenty years.

Several difficulties arising with respect to the execution of some of the articles of the peace, John took the honourable resolution of coming over to England again in order to adjust them. His council endeavoured to dissuade him from this design, which they represented as rash and impolitic, and insinuated, that he ought to elude as far as possible the execution of so disadvantageous a treaty. "Though justice and good faith," replied John, "were banished from the rest of the earth, they ought still to retain their habitation in the breasts of princes!" And he accordingly came over to his former lodgings in the Savoy; where he soon after sickened, and died. His subjects did not deserve to be governed by so good a sovereign. They were less sensible of his worth than his enemies the English were, who most sincerely bewailed his death.

C H A P. LXV.

Charles V. surnamed the Wise. — Situation of France at his Accession. — Much improved by the Wisdom of Charles. — The English lose Ground. — Death and Character of Charles. — Charles VI. — His insanity. — Assassination of the Duke of Orleans. — A Civil War. — Successes of Henry V. — Death of Henry, and of Charles VI.

IF we survey the situation of France at the commencement of this reign, it presents a *A. D. 1364.* scene of desolation, and almost of anarchy. The pretensions of Edward the Third of England to that crown, had involved the kingdom in blood and ruin. If he did not attain the complete gratification of his ambition, his thirst

of glory at least was satiated by the captivity of John the father of Charles. His son, the Black Prince, yet dreadful from the fields of Cressley and of Poitiers, held his court in these dominions. He was still in the prime of manhood, and his character, adorned with all the shining qualities of a warrior and a sovereign, spread terror to the remotest limits of the French monarchy.

Charles, surnamed the Bad, king of Navarre, had already been active in all the commotions of the preceding reign. Nature had endowed him with all those talents and qualifications, which, under the guidance of a vicious heart, are eminently pernicious. He captivated the multitude by his munificence and generosity. Versed in all the arts of address, and even of eloquence to varnish over his crimes, he had boldness enough to perpetrate the most atrocious. He was an avowed and inveterate enemy to Charles, to whom it is pretended that he had administered poison when Dauphin; and the effects of which, though retarded, yet eventually terminated in his death some years afterwards. Fickle and perfidious, he violated even his interests to gratify his passions, and trampled on the laws of consanguinity, of patriotism, and of honour.

The lands of the different provinces lay desert and uncultivated, and the taxes, which the ransom of the late king, and the disorders of the state had encreased to an unprecedented degree, tended to produce a spirit of revolt and disaffection among them.

Charles, the eldest son of John, had only attained his twenty-sixth year when he ascended the throne; but he had been educated in the school of adversity. Instructed by the fatal experience of his father and grand-father, he studiously avoided those errors into which their presumption and rashness had led them.

A succession of victories and conquests had raised the courage of the English nation, and depressed the genius of France; and though the storm had spent its force, it was not yet subsided, nor did any apparent decline in their affairs mark the moment when they might be attacked with success. Charles knew how to adopt that wary and temporising policy, which peculiarly distinguishes statesmen born to retrieve the affairs of empires, and which almost always finally attains its ends. It is not fortune, but wisdom, that disposes of the events of human life.

A circumstance, which at first seemed to carry the English glory to the greatest height, opened to Charles the occasion he so much desired, and enabled him from the recesses of the Louvre to regain without a battle all that both his

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predecessors had lost. Pedro, surnamed the Cruel and the Wicked, reigned in Castile. He had put his queen to death by poison, though young, beautiful, and virtuous, to gratify a mistress to whom he was enslaved. He had murdered one of his brothers, and attempted the lives of the others. Henry de Trastemare the eldest of these, weary of the tyrant's excesses, and pushed by despair, fled into France. Charles the Fifth received him with open arms, lent him a general and troops, with which he returned into Spain, and by whose assistance he dethroned his rival.

Pedro, detested and odious even to foreigners, endeavoured in vain to find an asylum in Portugal; and after wandering some time in Galicia, he embarked for Bourdeaux, to implore the protection and assistance of the prince of Wales, who resided in that city as capital of Guienne. Fond of military fame, and flattered by the title of restorer of dethroned kings, in an evil hour the prince consented. He marched across the Pyrennees, and met Henry de Trastemare in the plains of Navarette. Victory, which still waited on him, declared in his favour. He replaced Pedro on the throne, and was repaid with that ingratitude which he ought to have expected. Scarce could he carry back to France the half of his troops, thinned by distempers, unrecompensed, and discontented. He himself could not escape the attacks of a disease, which, though not immediately mortal, incapacitated him for those feats of arms, and the exertion of personal prowess, which had rendered him so eminent and renowned.

Bertrand du Guesclin, the second captain only of his age, while the Black Prince could bear the weight of armour, who had been twice his prisoner, and whom Edward had set free from a magnanimous contempt of his capacity, now came forward. Charles put into his hand the constable's sword, and ordered him to unsheath it against the enemies of France. In vain did the conqueror of Poitiers attempt to support the great name which he acquired in war. In vain with an indignant pride, did he threaten to appear with sixty thousand men, and a helmet on his head, before his sovereign lord the king of France, who summoned him as vassal. Debilitated, feeble, and depressed by the advances of disease, he made only some ineffectual efforts to stem the torrent of adverse fortune. His death followed not many years after; and the minority which took place under his son, Richard II. who succeeded to the English crown, left Charles and du Guesclin an almost undisputed conquest.

In a few years all the fruits of the victories of Edward III. were lost; and of the vast dominions which he had

acquired, only Calais, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne, with an inconsiderable territory, remained to his successor. France had recovered her natural and ancient ascendant, while a wise and vigorous administration succeeding to the past convulsions, produced effects the most beneficial. Order and tranquillity began to resume their seat in the provinces from which they had so long been banished, and the house of Valois no longer held a precarious throne; when Charles V, expired in the prime of his age. His premature A. D. 1380. fate was the consequence of the poison administered to him, when Dauphin, by the king of Navarre; who himself perished, about six years afterwards, by the accidental burning of some bandages in which he had been wrapped for the cure of a leprosy.

With Charles expired the guardian genius of the monarchy; and France, rescued by his wisdom, relapsed into all the miseries she had previously experienced. His sagacity, and sound policy exceeded all the brilliancy of military glory; and had he lived a few years longer, he would probably have obtained the most complete superiority over the English, whom the errors and misconduct of Richard II. had involved in all the confusion of civil discord.

The parliament appointed the duke of Anjou, eldest brother to Charles V. regent of the kingdom during the minority of his son, who was no more than twelve years of age; but his education was committed to the care of his two uncles, the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon. So jealous were the French, at this time, of their feudal rights, that the duke of Burgundy, as being the first peer of France, took place at the council-board of his elder brother, the duke of Anjou, whose elevation to the regency was looked upon with an evil eye by the duke of Berri.

All the disorders and oppressions, which usually accompany minorities, now ensued. The dukes of Berri and Burgundy, grasping at power, and exercising it to the injury of the state, gave rise by their exactions to sedition and tumult. The young king, whom his father had begun to train in sentiments of virtue and greatness, now neglected in his education, studiously kept from an acquaintance with the affairs of his kingdom, only taught to follow the chase, or immersed in debauchery, seemed to promise no termination to these public calamities. His heart, indeed, was generous and beneficent; and even his understanding, though uncultivated, and left to unfold itself without any assistance, yet appears to have been clear, just, and manly.

In proportion as the king advanced in years, the factions were composed. His uncle, the duke of Anjou died; and

Charles himself, assuming the reins of government, discovered symptoms of genius and spirit, which revived the drooping hopes of his countrymen. But this promising state of things was of short duration. The unhappy Charles fell suddenly into a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exercising his authority; and although he partly recovered from that disorder, he was subject to such frequent relapses, that his judgment was gradually impaired, and he became incapable of pursuing any steady plan of government.

The king's first relapse is said to have been occasioned by the following accident. During an entertainment, given in honour of the marriage of one of the queen's attendants, and in which the king danced, a group of masks entered the apartment, linked together with chains, and dressed like bears. The duke of Orleans, willing to inspect them closely took a flambeau in his hand, and holding it too near, unhappily set fire to their dresses, which being daubed with pitch were instantly in a blaze. The room was in flames, and three of them were burnt to death. Every one anxious for their own preservation forgot the king, and he was on the point of being involved in this catastrophe, when the duchess of Berri, with uncommon presence of mind, wrapt him in her cloak, and preserved him from the danger. This violent shock, however, threw the king into a second paroxysm of frenzy; and, as the ideas of magic and sorcery were universally received in those times, the people imputed his relapse to the effect of charms and incantations.

The administration now fell again into the hands of the dukes of Berri and Burgundy, who excluded the duke of Orleans, the king's brother, under pretence of his youth, from any share of the government, and even from the shadow of authority. The case, however, was very different in regard to the duchess of Orleans. Young, beautiful and insinuating, she acquired such influence over the king, that she governed him at her pleasure. Nay, what is yet more extraordinary, it was she only that could govern him; for in the time of his malady he knew nobody else, not even the queen. Hence it was rumoured by the duchess of Burgundy, who envied the influence of the duchess of Orleans, that she had bewitched the king; and, in order to heighten the odium, it was insinuated that the duke of Orleans had also bewitched the queen. That both were under the influence of enchantment is not to be doubted; but it was only that of youth, wit, and beauty, whose assiduities so often fascinate the susceptible heart.

The duke of Burgundy dying about this time, was succeeded by his son John, count of Nevers, who disputed the administration with the duke of Orleans, whom he caused to

be affassinated in the streets of Paris. His motives, however, for this detestable crime, were, perhaps, more personal than political. The gallantries of the duke of Orleans were notorious; and it is said, that he had not only succeeded in an amour with the duchess of Burgundy, but had even the affrontery to introduce her husband into cabinet hung with the portraits of the ladies attached to him, among which her's occupied a distinguished place *.

Whatever was the cause of this detestable crime, the kingdom long felt its pernicious consequences, by a series of proscriptions, massacres, and barbarities, almost unparalleled in any country. Marius or Sylla never exercised more unrelenting vengeance over their vanquished enemies in ancient Rome, than did the adherents of the duke of Orleans and the Burgundians, as they triumphed by turns in Paris. Two thousand citizens perished in one carnage.

Henry V. king of England, resolving to take advantage of those disorders, invaded France. Immediately on his landing, he invested Harfleur, which was taken by storm, after a six weeks siege, and the garrison put to the sword. The famous battle of Agincourt followed, in which Henry obtained a glorious victory. The loss of the French was incredible. Seven princes were slain. Five princes were taken prisoners; together with fourteen thousand persons of different ranks; and about ten thousand Frenchmen were left dead on the field of battle.

Henry returned to England, but landed about two years after in Normandy, when a matrimonial treaty A. D. 1420. was concluded between Catharine, the daughter of Charles, and the English monarch. The nuptials were solemnized at Troyes; and by the marriage articles, the lady brought the kingdom of France in dowry to her husband.

Thus, by an astonishing concurrence of circumstances, a foreign prince was on the point of being seated on the throne of France. The Dauphin, unable to resist so powerful a combination, retired southward, and began to fortify himself in the provinces beyond the Loire; when the unexpected death of the king of England revived his hopes. By one of those extraordinary incidents, which decide the fate of nations, Henry, the fortunate and victorious, expired in the flower of his youth. As far as human foresight can determine from appearances, England, had he lived, would have given laws to France. But by his death, the kingdom had time to recover. An infant of nine months old, Henry

VI. succeeded to the two crowns, and the Dauphin, re-ascending by slow degrees the hill of fortune, restored his declining affairs.

The death of Henry was soon followed by that of his father-in-law Charles; who terminated his unhappy life in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign, and was hastily interred without even the honour due to his station.

CHAP. LXVI.

Charles VII.—His Distresses.—Siege of Orleans.—Expulsion of the English from the Continent.—Lewis XI.—Anecdote of his Queen.—Charles VIII.—His Character.—Lewis XII.—His amiable Character.

ON the news of his father's death, the Dauphin was proclaimed king by his liegemen. A. D. 1422, the band of adherents, and even crowned at Poitiers; but to such extreme penury was he reduced, that all he could procure scarce sufficed to provide for the immediate wants of his dress and table; though the queen his wife sold her plate and jewels for that purpose*.

In considering with a superficial eye, the state of affairs between France and England at the accession of Charles VII. every advantage seems to lie on the side of the latter kingdom; and the total expulsion of Charles appears an event which might naturally be expected from the superior power of his competitor. Though Henry VI. was yet in his infancy, the duke of Bedford, the most accomplished prince of his age, was intrusted with the administration. And the experience, prudence, valour, and generosity of the regent, qualified him for his high office, and enabled him both to maintain union among his friends, and to gain the confidence of his enemies. But Charles VII. notwithstanding the present inferiority of his power, possessed some advantages which promised him success. As he was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy, all Frenchmen who knew the interests, or desired the independency of their native country, turned their eyes towards him as its sole resource; and Charles himself was of a character well calculated

* Mezeray.

lated to become the object of these benevolent sentiments. He was a prince of the most friendly and benign disposition; of easy and familiar manners; and of a just and sound, though not a very vigorous understanding. Sincere, generous, affable, he engaged from affection the services of his followers, even while his low fortune might have made it their interest to desert him.

During the first six years of his reign, the English troops, animated by a long train of successes, and commanded by experienced leaders, were almost uniformly victorious; when the memorable siege of Orleans was undertaken. Though the count de Dunois, the famous barlard of Orleans, exerted every effort of valour and conduct against the besiegers, the place was vigorously pressed. Charles VII. already began to meditate a retreat into Dauphiny, and all seemed to conspire towards his destruction, till an occurrence the most singular in the records of history, turned the current in his favour, and restored him to the throne of his ancestors. —I mean the appearance of Joan d'Arc. A village girl, either instigated by an enthusiastic apprehension of supernatural assistance, or instructed to feign such a belief, quits her obscurity in Lorraine, and goes to find the king at Chinon, in Touraine.

However we may suppose Joan herself to have been persuaded of her divine mission, it is scarce possible to imagine that Charles and his courtiers accepted her offers from any other motive, than that of trying an extraordinary and desperate remedy in the present disorders of the state. The age was ignorant, credulous, barbarous, and superstitious to a high degree. The occurrence was exactly adapted to their apprehensions and religious terrors; and while the count de Dunois really commanded, Joan unfurling the sacred standard, placed herself at the head of the troops chosen to succour the city. The experiment succeeded even beyond expectation. Armed, as it were, with supernatural protection, she attacked enemies already disunited with fears, and obtained an easy conquest.

Not satisfied with raising the siege of Orleans, and animated by the fortunate issue of her first essay in arms, she pushed her views to the greatest length. One victory prepared the way for another; and still advancing through provinces which had been totally in the power of the English, she led her sovereign to Rheims, and saw him solemnly inaugurated.

The perfidy, or the imprudence of the governor of Compeigne, delivered her at length into the hands of her enemies. Even then she behaved, though defenceless, and menaced
with

with death, in a manner becoming a heroine. Her enthusiasm and reliance on superior aid supported her courage; for Charles, who had derived all the benefits he expected from such an engine, to his eternal dishonour made no effort to procure her release; and a barbarous resentment, unworthy of generous minds, prompted the English, who had suffered so severely from her prowess, to take a cruel and inhuman revenge. The maid of Orleans, to whom Greece would have raised altars and erected temples, who had rescued her country from a foreign yoke, and her sovereign from a state of the most abject distress, was publicly burnt at Rouen, for the supposed crimes of sorcery and witchcraft.

The affairs of the English, however, instead of being advanced by this act of cruelty, went A. D. 1455. every day more and more to decay, till at last they were expelled from all their possessions on the continent, except Calais.

During the latter years of his life, Charles became distrustful, suspicious, and uneasy. He had received an intimation that his son intended to poison him, which made so deep an impression upon him, that he refused all food for several days; and, when he wanted to eat, it was perceived that he had lost the power of swallowing; which put an end to his life in the thirty-ninth A. A. 1460. year of his reign, and the sixtieth of his age.

Charles was succeeded by his son Lewis XI. an insidious, artful, and tyrannical monarch. His character, made up of inconsistencies, is perhaps the most unamiable of any we meet with in the French annals. He seized on Burgundy, and made that duchy an appendage of the crown of France.

His queen, the princess Margaret of Scotland, was an accomplished woman, and protected letters. A singular anecdote is related of her, strongly corroborating this part of her character. Passing accidentally through an apartment where Alain Chartier, the most brilliant genius, but the ugliest man of his age, lay asleep, she advanced up to him and kissed him. Her ladies reproaching her by their looks for this seeming violation of female modesty; "It was not the 'the man', said she, 'whom I kissed, but the mouth from 'whence have proceeded so many elevated sentiments *.'"

His successor, Charles VIII. conquered the kingdom of Naples, but was afterwards driven out of Italy, and stripped of all his conquests. He died without issue in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign; be-

ing the last prince of the first line of the House of Valois. "He was a man of a small body and short stature, but so good, that it is not possible to see a better creature, and so sweet and gentle in disposition, that it is not known that he ever either gave or took offence in his life *." There is a certain unadorned simplicity in this picture, which charms and affects.

He was succeeded in the throne of France by the duke of Orleans, under the title of Lewis XII. to which was afterward added the most glorious of all appellations, that of *Father of his People*.

Lewis was thirty-six years of age when he A. D. 1498. ascended the throne; and from that moment he forgot all personal resentments. When some of his courtiers put him in mind, that certain persons who had formerly been his enemies, were now in his power, he made that ever-memorable reply:—"The king of France revenges not the injuries of the duke of Orleans." It is one thing, however, to deliver a fine maxim, and another to make it the rule of one's conduct. Lewis did both. But his fatal ambition of reigning in Italy brought many misfortunes upon himself and his kingdom, notwithstanding his prudence, and paternal affection for his people.

He was the most virtuous prince that ever reigned over France †. His encomiasts were not only poets and men of genius, ever ready to prostitute their talents. The simple and unembellished lamentations of a whole nation were his best panegyric. The shades of his character it is unnecessary to conceal. His attachment to the queen, Anne of Bretagne, frequently degenerated into uxoriousness, and caused him to commit errors very injurious to his affairs. In him expired the elder branch of the House of Orleans, and that of Angouleme succeeded to the throne; the princess Anne having been given in marriage to the count of Angouleme, first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to the crown.

* Comines.

† It was proclaimed in the hall of the palace at his death, "Le bon roi Louis douze, Pere du peuple, est mort."

C H A P. LXVII.

Francis I.—Battle of Marignano—His interview with Henry VIII.—He is a Candidate for the Imperial Crown—He is taken Prisoner.—His Character.

THE accession of Francis I. contemporary with Henry VIII. of England, was accompanied with all those circumstances, which could diffuse over it a particular lustre. Nature had endowed him with every quality of mind and person, formed to intoxicate both his people and himself. He had only passed his twentieth year a few months. Finely formed, with the mien and appearance of a hero, his personal accomplishments were not inferior to his external figure. He excelled in the exercises of a cavalier, and pushed the lance with distinguished vigour and address. Courteous in his manners, and bounteous in his temper even to prodigality, the nobility, whom the frugality and reserved deportment of Lewis had kept at greater distance, crowded round their young sovereign with pleasure and admiration. Eloquent in the cabinet, and courageous in the field, he shone alike in arts or arms; and while he extended his generosity to science and genius, he impatiently waited for the occasion of signalizing his prowess, and acquiring the glory of a warrior*.

The situation of public affairs at the death of the late king, immediately presented an opportunity for the exercise of this martial spirit. Francis, equally determined to conquer the Milanese as his predecessor had been, put himself at the head of his army, and marched forward into their territories. All the cities opened their gates to him without a blow, and the Swiss, uncertain whether to retreat or to give battle, retiring before him, he encamped at Marignano, only a league distant from Milan. A reinforcement of ten thousand men arriving to their aid, determined them to the latter, and actuated by a sort of military frenzy, which the exhortations of the celebrated Matthew Schiener, Cardinal of Sion, had inspired, they advanced furiously to attack the French in their lines. History scarce affords any instance of an action, disputed with so enraged an animosity. It began about four in the afternoon in the month of September, and lasted more than three hours after the night closed in. Lassitude and darkness brought on a cessation of arms, without diminishing the ardour of the combatants, or de-

* Guicciardini.

ciding the fortune of the day, and so much were they intermingled during the heat of the contest, that many squadrons passed the night among those of the enemy. Francis himself, after having shewn the greatest intrepidity, laid himself down upon the carriage of a piece of artillery; and like Darius after the battle of Arbēla, is said to have seized with eagerness a little water mixed with dirt and blood, which one of his soldiers brought him in a helmet to assuage his thirst. With the dawn of light the Swiss renewed the charge, but at length were repulsed with prodigious slaughter; and a body of them being cut to pieces in a wood where they attempted to shelter themselves, the rest retreated in good order. Ten thousand remained dead upon the field.

Francis was a candidate for the empire of Germany, but lost the imperial crown; Charles V. of the house of Austria, and king of Spain, being chosen. This increase of splendor and power alarmed the French monarch; and his disappointed ambition conspiring with his political terrors on the union of so many states under one sovereign, conduced to hasten an interview which had been before agreed on between him and Henry VIII. It took place between Ardres and Guisnes in the month of June. A magnificence unequalled, and which resulted from the temper of the two princes, splendid, profuse, and vain, made the spot retain the name of "The field of the cloth of gold." The interview lasted ten or twelve days; and tournaments, banquets, and every species of diversions were exhibited. The queens of either monarch honoured it with their presence; and Francis expended in this empty shew, useless to his kingdom, a greater sum than Charles had distributed to acquire the imperial crown. It was attended with no durable or solid friendship between the two kings. By a silent stroke of policy destitute of eclat, but wiser and more effectual, the young emperor had passed over into England previous to this interview, and entered into connections with Henry, which experience proved to be much more permanent and binding.

Though Francis was brave to excess in his own person, and had defeated the Swiss, who till then were deemed invincible, yet he was, upon the whole, an unfortunate warrior. He made some dazzling expeditions against Spain; but suffered his mother, of whom he was very fond, to abuse his power, by which he disobliged the constable of Bourbon, the greatest of his subjects, who joined in a confederacy against him with the emperor and Henry VIII. of England. In a capital expedition he undertook into Italy, he was taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia, and obliged to agree to dishonourable terms, which he never meant to perform, in
order

order to regain his liberty. His non-performance of these conditions was afterwards the source of many wars between him and the emperor.

Some time before his death, Francis was ill of a slow fever, which he endeavoured to shake off by frequent changes of air; but removing to Rambouillet, he grew sensible that his latter end was approaching, and sent for the dauphin to give him his last advice, which is said to have been pious and edifying, and worthy of a great king expiring. He died in the fifty-second year of his A. D. 1547. age, and the thirty-third of his reign.

Though not so successful in his wars, yet he acquired more glory than the emperor his competitor; and Francis is more truly great after the defeat at Pavia, or when a captive in the castle of Madrid, than Charles, victorious, and imposing conditions on his prisoner. His bounty, his princely liberality, his condescending attentions to men distinguished by their superior merits or talents, acquired him a fame not inferior to that of Leo the Tenth, and less ostentatious than that of Lewis XIV. The celebrated painter, Leonardo-da-Vinci, expired in his arms, from the effort he made in raising himself, when in the last stage of illness, to express his sense of the honour done him by the visit of so august a monarch. Profusion, want of application, and too great subserviency to ministers, favourites, and mistresses, were his principal faults. But his very foibles and errors were such as mark a feeling and generous mind; such as we pardon while we censure. To Henry the Fourth he bears a striking resemblance; and this latter prince, so worthy of immortal praise, was flattered and charmed with the comparison of himself to Francis, whom he admired, and wished to imitate.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Henry II.—The Dauphin marries Mary Queen of Scots.—Francis II.—Catherine of Medicis.—Charles IX.—Massacre of the Hugonots.—Extraordinary Death of Charles.—His Character.—Henry III.—Civil Wars.—Duke of Guise and his Brother assassinated.—Henry assassinated by a Monk.—His Character.

NOTWITHSTANDING the variety of disagreeable events during the reign of Francis, at the time of his death, France was in a flourishing condition. A. D. 1547. He was succeeded by his son Henry II. who upon the whole was an excellent and fortunate prince. He continued the war with the emperor of Germany to great advantage for his own dominions; and was so well served by the duke of Guise, that though he lost the battle of St. Quintin, against the Spaniards and the English, he retook Calais from the latter, who never since had any footing in France.

The dauphin, being enamoured of his cousin, Mary queen of Scots, who had been sent, after the death of her father James V. to the court of Henry for an asylum, obtained the king's consent to his marriage, in hopes of uniting that kingdom to his crown; but in his scheme, he, or rather his country, was unfortunate, as may be seen in the view of the history of Scotland. He was killed in the year 1559, at an unhappy tilting match, by the count of Montgomeri.

If Henry was not a great, he was an amiable and accomplished prince. Generous to his domestics, and bounteous to his followers, he was beloved by his courtiers and attendants. An affectionate father, a polite and obliging husband, a warm and animated friend, he was, in all the walks of private life, peculiarly an object of respect and attachment.

He was succeeded by his son Francis II. a weak, sickly, inactive prince, and only thirteen years of age; whose power was entirely engrossed by a prince of the house of Guise, uncle to his wife, the beautiful queen of Scotland. This engrossment of power encouraged the Bourbon, the Montmorenci, and other great families, to form a strong opposition against the government.

Catherine of Medicis now first came forward, and rose into importance. Her rank, as mother to the young king; made her friendship eagerly sought after by every party, while her talents and capacity rendered her equal to, and capable

capable of the most arduous offices of government. Endowed by nature with a thousand great and shining qualities, she only wanted virtue to direct them to honourable and salutary purposes. The love of pleasure, of letters, and of magnificence, were only inferior affections; ambition predominated, and swallowed up all other passions in her bosom. Born with a force of mind, and a calmness which might have done honour to the boldest man, she seemed to look down as from an eminence on human occurrences; while never alarmed, even in circumstances the most unexpected and distressful, she knew either how to oppose them, or, if necessary, how to bend and accommodate herself to them. Mistress of consummate dissimulation, her manners, where she wished to succeed in any attempt, were ingratiating beyond the common powers of female seduction. Expensive even to prodigality in the entertainments and diversions which she exhibited, and covering her designs under the mask of dissipation, she planned a massacre amid the festivity of a banquet, and caressed with the most winning blandishments the victim which she had previously destined to destruction. Cruel from policy, not from temper, avaricious from necessity, profuse from taste, she united in herself qualities most discordant and contradictory.

Anthony, king of Navarre, was at the head of the Bourbon family; but Catharine having taken part with the Guises, the confederacy, who had adopted the cause of Hugonotism*, was broken in pieces, when the sudden death of Francis happened in the seven- A.D. 1560. teenth year of his age, and after he had reigned about a year and five months. Voltaire, in his *Henriade*, has drawn his portrait thus:

“Folle enfant, qui de Guise adorait les caprices,
Et dont on ignorait les vertus et les vices.”

His attachment to his consort Mary was extreme, her beauty and accomplishments being such, as to challenge the warmest homage of the heart.

The death of Francis took place, while the prince of Condé, brother to the king of Navarre, was under sentence of death, for a conspiracy against the court; but the queen-mother saved him, to balance the interest of the Guises; so that the sole direction of affairs fell into her hands, during the minority of her second son, Charles IX. Her regency was a continued series of dissimulation, treachery, and mur-

* The Protestants were called Hugonots.

der. The duke of Guise, who was the scourge of the Protestants, was assassinated by one Poltrot, at the siege of Orleans; and the murderer was unjustly thought to have been instigated by the famous Coligni, admiral of France, who was then at the head of the Protestant party. Three civil wars succeeded each other. At last, the court pretended to grant the Hugonots a very advantageous peace, and a match was concluded between Henry, the young king of Navarre, a Protestant, and the French king's sister. The heads of the Protestants were invited to celebrate the nuptials at Paris, with the infernal view of butchering them all if possible, in one night. This project proved but too successful, though it was not completely executed, on St. Bartholomew's day. The king himself assisted in the massacre, in which the admiral fell; and it is said that about 30,000 Protestants*, were murdered at Paris, and in other parts of France; and this brought on a fourth civil war.

At Rome, and in Spain, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which no popish writer of the present age mentions without detestation, was the subject of public rejoicings; and solemn thanks were returned to God for its success under the name of the *Triumph of the Church Militant*! Among the Protestants it excited incredible horror; a striking picture of which is drawn by Fenelon, the French ambassador at the court of England, in his account of his first audience after that barbarous transaction. "A gloomy sorrow," says he, "sat on every face: silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment: the ladies and courtiers clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each side; and as I passed by them, in my approach to the queen, not one bestowed on me a favourable look, or made the least return to my salutations †."

Though a fresh peace was concluded with A. D. 1573. the Protestants, yet a fifth civil war broke out the next year, when the bloody Charles IX. died without heirs, of a distemper so extraordinary, that it was universally considered by the Protestants, as a visible stroke of divine vengeance. Some time before his decease, he trembled, and all his limbs were contracted by sudden fits; while his acute pains did not suffer him to enjoy any repose, or to remain scarce a moment in one posture. He was even bathed in his own blood, which oozed from every pore of his body ‡. A circumstance which very strongly marks

* Sully's Memoirs.

† Fenelon's Dispatches.

‡ Wrexall.

The king, ever since his accession to the throne, had plunged himself into a course of infamous debauchery and religious extravagance. He was entirely governed by his
A a 2 profligate

profligate favourites, but he possessed natural good sense. He began to suspect that the proscriptions of the Protestants, and the setting aside from the succession of the king of Navarre, on account of his religion, which was aimed at by the holy league, was with a view to place the duke of Guise, the idol of the Roman Catholics, on the throne, to which

the duke had some pretensions. To secure himself on the throne, a seventh civil war broke out, and another some years after; both of which were to the disadvantage of the Protestants, through the abilities of the duke of Guise.

The king now thought this nobleman so dangerous, that after inviting him in a friendly manner to court, both he and his brother the cardinal, were, by his majesty's orders, and in a manner under his eye, basely assassinated.

A. D. 1588. The leaguers, upon this, declared that Henry had forfeited his crown, and was an enemy to religion. This obliged him to throw himself into the arms of the Protestants: but while he was besieging Paris, where the leaguers had their greatest force, he was in his turn

assassinated by one Clement, a young enthusiastic monk.

A. D. 1589. Henry owed his vices, and consequently, his misfortunes, to the councils he received from his mother. While he was young, and in the field, out of the reach of her influence, he behaved well; but after his return from Poland, he fell into a state of mind, which partook equally of idiotism and fury. His memory, however, has, perhaps, suffered in some respects, as he was equally hated by the Hugonots, and the Roman Catholics. In Henry III. ended the line of Valois.

C H A P LXIX.

Henry IV.—The Battle of Ivry.—Henry declares himself a Roman Catholic.—Passes the Edict of Nantz.—Duke of Sully.—His Character.—Henry's grand Scheme.—Is assassinated by Ravilliac.—Lewis XIII.—Civil Wars.—Cardinal Richelieu supports the German Protestants.—His Character, and that of Lewis.

HENRY IV. king of Navarre *, head of the House of Bourbon, and the next heir by the Salic law, had many difficulties to struggle with, on account of his religion, before he mounted the throne. The leaguers were headed by the duke of Main, brother to the late duke of Guise; and they drew from his cell the decrepid popish cardinal of Bourbon, uncle to the king of Navarre, to proclaim him king of France. Being strongly supported by the power of Spain and Rome, all the glorious actions performed by Henry, his courage and magnanimity, seemed only to make him more illustriously unfortunate; for he and his little court were sometimes without common necessities. He was, however, personally beloved, and no objection lay against him but that of his religion. Having applied to the queen of England for aid, he found Elizabeth well disposed. On the arrival of the English forces, he marched immediately toward Paris, to the great consternation of the inhabitants, and had almost taken the city by storm; but the duke of Main entering it soon after with his army, Henry judged it prudent to retire.

Not long after, however, Henry attacked the duke of Main at Ivry, and gained a complete victory over him, though supported by a select body of Spanish troops, detached from the Netherlands. Henry's behaviour on this occasion was truly heroic. "My lads," said he to his soldiers, "if you should lose sight of your colours, rally to—wards this," pointing to a large white plume which he wore in his hat:—"you will always find it in the road to honour. God is with us!" added he emphatically, drawing his sword, and rushing into the thicket of the enemy; but when he perceived their ranks broken, and great havock committed in the pursuit, his natural humanity and attachment to his countrymen returned, and led him to cry,

* A small kingdom lying upon the Pyrenean mountains, of the greatest part of which, Upper Navarre, Henry's predecessors had been unjustly dispossessed by Ferdinand king of Spain about the year 1512.

"Spare my French subjects," forgetting that they were his enemies.

The leaguers split amongst themselves; and the French nation in general, being jealous of the Spaniards, who availed themselves of the public distractions, Henry, after experiencing a variety of good and bad fortune, came secretly to a resolution of declaring himself a Roman Catholic. This was called a measure of prudence if not of necessity, as the king of Spain had offered his daughter Isabella Clara Eugenia to be queen of France, and would have married her to the young duke of Guise.

At last Henry went publicly to mass, as a
A. D. 1593. mark of his conversion. This complaisance wrought wonders in his favour; and having with great difficulty obtained absolution from the Pope, all France submitted to his authority, and he had only the crown of Spain to contend with, which he did for several years with various fortune.

Educated a Protestant, Henry continued after he became a Catholic, to be the patron of the Reformed. Generous and free in his own principles, he endeavoured to promote a spirit of love and charity, among his subjects, to allay all bitterness, and to put an end to all persecution. With this view, he published the famous edict of Nantz;

A. D. 1598. which not only secured to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion, but a share in the administration of justice, and the privilege of being admitted to all employments of trust, profit, and honour. Not long after, the treaty of Vervins was concluded with Spain.

Henry next chastised the duke of Savoy, who had taken advantage of the late troubles in his kingdom; and applied himself with wonderful attention and success, to cultivate the happiness of his people, by encouraging manufactures, particularly that of silk.

In all his undertakings, he was assisted by his minister, the great Sully. Equally brave in the field, and penetrating in the cabinet, he possessed more coolness and perseverance than Henry, whose quickness of thought did not permit him to attend long to any one object. Attached to his master's person by friendship, and to his interest and the public good by principle, he employed himself with the most indefatigable industry, to restore the dignity of the crown, without giving umbrage to the nobility, or trespassing on the rights of the people. His first care was the finances, and it is inconceivable in how little time he drew the most exact order out of that chaos, in which they had been involved by his predecessors. He levied taxes in the shortest and most frugal manner

manner possible; for he held, that every man so employed was a citizen lost to the public, and yet maintained by the public. He diminished all the expences of government; but, at the same time, paid every one punctually, and took care that the king should always have such reserve, as not to be obliged, on any emergency, either to lay new impositions on his people, or to make use of credit.

Having re-established the tranquillity, and, in a great measure, secured the happiness of his people, Henry formed connections with the neighbouring powers, for reducing the ambition of the house of Austria, for which purpose, it is said, he had formed great schemes, and collected a formidable army. Others say, that he designed to have formed Christendom into a great Republic, of which France was to be the head, and to drive the Turks out of Europe; while others attribute his preparations to more ignoble motives, that of a criminal passion for a favourite princess*, whose husband had carried her for protection into the Austrian dominions. Whatever may be in these conjectures, it is certain, that while he was making preparations for the coronation of his queen, Mary of Medicis, and was ready to enter upon his grand expedition, he was assassinated in his coach in the streets of Paris, by one Ravilliac, like Clement, another young enthusiast. Thus A. D. 1610. perished Henry IV. deservedly styled *the Great*, the ablest, and best prince that ever sat upon the throne of France.

This amiable monarch wished to hold his empire from affection, not force. Firm, when the public good required it, he never was intoxicated with that absolute power which charms so many weak princes, and those who only are possessed of moderate genius. Some court-flatterers, on a particular occasion, once entreated him to make use of his authority. He made them this answer, worthy to be engraved on all king's palaces: "The first duty of a sovereign is to consider of every thing; and to remember he has himself two sovereigns, God and the Law."

Many years after the peace, he was told there were some fanatics, the remaining dregs of the league, who continued to declaim against him; and that they even refused to pray for him in their public prayers; "They must be attended to," said he, "for they are still angry."

Under the minority of Lewis XIII. who succeeded his father at the age of nine years, and the weak regency of his mother Mary de Medicis, France returned to that state of

* The princess of Condé.

disorder and wretchedness, out of which it had been raised by the mild and equitable, but vigorous government of Henry the Great. The queen resigned herself entirely to the counsels of her Italian favourites,—Concini, a man of obscure origin, who soon assumed the title of marquis of Ancre, and his wife, Leonora Galigni. The ministers of the late king were coldly received at court; and several of them, among whom was the celebrated duke of Sully, retired in disgust. Instead of pursuing the designs of the late king, and endeavouring to check the dangerous ambition of the house of Austria, the queen, to secure her own power, entered into a close alliance with it: The young king was contracted with the infanta of Spain, and his sister Elizabeth with the prince of Asturias. During four successive years, France was torn by intestine commotion. The standard of revolt was repeatedly erected by the ambitious princes of the blood, and the discontented nobles; who, with strange caprice, alternately courted and duped the sovereign power. Meanwhile, the king being declared of age, the double marriage was celebrated with Spain. The obnoxious counsels of the marquis of Ancre raised universal indignation. Those treasures which had been amassed by Henry and the faithful Sully, to promote the glory of the nation, were lavished on the dependants of D'Ancre; who multiplied titles and offices, to gratify their vanity, and to secure his own power; and, for them, dismissed the oldest servants of the crown. His pride, inflamed by prosperity, could at length no longer endure a rival, even in the first princes of the blood; and the prince of Condé, who had dared to threaten him with his indignation, was arrested, and carried to the Bastille. The chief part of the nobility, roused to a sense of their own danger, withdrew from court, and soon after appeared in arms. The king was at length awakened to a certainty of the dangerous ambition and the calamitous administration of D'Ancre, and of his own degraded state. To effect his deliverance, and to restore the public peace, he resolved, by the advice of his favourite, a gentleman of the name of Luïenes, on the death of the marquis; and he was soon after assassinated. The marquis de Piene, his son, and his wife Leonora, were immediately secured: The estates of the latter were confiscated; and, after being cruelly pronounced guilty of having fascinated the queen's affections by the use of magic, she suffered a dreadful death. The disgrace of the queen-mother ensued; and she was confined at Blois. Luïenes, who soon after attained the title of duke, succeeded to the late power of D'Ancre; and, while he endeavoured to establish his influence over the sovereign, he tried to win the confidence of the people, by abolishing the most oppressive

five taxes,—and that of the princes of the blood, by an apparent zeal for the liberation of the prince of Condé. The queen-mother escaped from her confinement at Blois, through the assistance of the duke d'Epemon; who disappointed in his hope of support from the nobles, a peace was at length concluded with the king, and Mary was suffered to remain at liberty: But, though she had obtained from the late treaty all her demands, she secretly nursed the spirit of revolt, and compelled the king again to assemble his forces. Awed by this procedure, she condescended to negotiate; and the former treaty was confirmed.

The flames of religious persecution were again kindled against the Hugonots; but a peace was at length concluded, which confirmed the edict of Nantz. Meanwhile, the duke of Luïenes, whose reputation had declined, closed a life of splendid and invariable success. On the death of the cardinal Retz, first minister of France, the celebrated bishop of Luçon, now cardinal Richelieu, was introduced into the cabinet. His vigorous talents and aspiring genius rose superior to every difficulty of administration, and have commanded the universal admiration of posterity. Of his virtues, less can be said.

Cardinal Richelieu no sooner got a share in the administration, which in a short time he entirely governed, than, turning his eyes on the state of Europe, he formed three mighty projects: To subdue the turbulent spirit of the French nobility, to reduce the rebellious Hugonots, and to curb the encroaching power of the house of Austria, which the abilities of Francis I. and Henry IV. had vainly attempted. But, in order to carry these great designs into execution, it was necessary to preserve peace with England. This Richelieu perceived; and accordingly negotiated, in spite of the courts of Rome and Madrid, a treaty of marriage, between Charles, prince of Wales, and Henrietta of France, sister of Lewis XIII. He also negotiated, in conjunction with the United Provinces, an alliance between the two crowns.

In the mean time, the Hugonots shewed once more a disposition to render themselves independent; and, in that spirit, they were encouraged by the court of England, which voluntarily took up arms in their cause. The reason assigned by some historians for this step, is very singular. As Lewis XIII. was wholly governed by cardinal Richelieu, and Philip IV. by Olivarez, Charles I. was in like manner governed by the duke of Buckingham, the handsomest and most pompous man of his time, but not the deepest politician. He was naturally amorous, bold, and presumptuous; and, when employed to bring over the princess Henrietta, he is said to have carried his addresses even to the queen of France.

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The return which he met with from Anne of Austria, whose complexion was as amorous as his own, encouraged him to project a new embassy to the court of Versailles; but cardinal Richelieu, reported to have been his rival in love, as well as in politics, made Lewis send him a message, that he must not think of such a journey. Buckingham, in a romantic passion, swore he would "see the queen, in spite of all the power of France*." And hence is supposed to have originated the war in which he involved his master.

Rash and impetuous, however, as Buckingham was, he appears to have had better reasons for that measure. Cardinal Richelieu was still meditating the destruction of the Hugonots: They had been deprived of many of their cautionary towns; and forts were erecting, in order to bridle Rochelle, their most considerable bulwark. If the Protestant party should be utterly subdued, France would soon become formidable to England. This consideration was of itself sufficient to induce Buckingham to undertake the defence of the Hugonots. But, independent of such political forecast, and of his amorous quarrel with Richelieu, the English minister had powerful motives for such a measure. That profound statesman had engaged the duke to send some ships to act against the Rochelle fleet, under promise, that, after the humiliation of the Hugonots, France should take an active part in the war between England and Spain. This ill-judged compliance roused the resentment of the English commons against Buckingham, and had been made one of the grounds of an impeachment. He then changed his plan, procured a peace for the Hugonots, and became security to them for its performance; but finding the cardinal would neither concur with him in carrying on the war against Spain, nor observe the treaty with the Hugonots, he had no other course left for recovering his credit with the parliament and people, but to take up arms against the court of France, in vindication of the rights of the French Protestants. His efforts, however, for this purpose, proved ineffectual. The siege of Rochelle was regularly formed, and conducted with vigour, by Lewis, and even by the cardinal in person. The citizens, animated by civil and religious zeal, and abundantly provided with military stores, determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. Under the command of Guiton, their mayor, a man of experience and fortitude, they made an obstinate resistance, and baffled all attempts to reduce the city by force. But the bold genius of Richelieu, which led him to plan the greatest undertakings, also suggested means, equally great and

* Clarendon.

extraordinary, for their execution. Finding it impossible to take Rochelle while the communication remained open by sea, he attempted to shut up the harbour by stakes, and by a boom. Both these methods, however, proving ineffectual, he recollected what Alexander had performed in the siege of Tyre; and projected and finished a mole, of a mile's length, across a gulf, into which the sea rolled with an impetuosity that seemed to bid defiance to all the works of man. The place being now blockaded on all sides, and every attempt for its relief failing, the inhabitants were obliged to surrender, after suffering all the miseries of war and famine, during a siege of almost twelve months. They were deprived of their extensive privileges, and their fortifications were destroyed; but they were allowed to retain possession of their goods, and permitted the free exercise of their religion. Historians say, that, in these wars, above a million of men lost their lives; that 150,000,000 livres were spent in carrying them on; and that nine cities, four hundred villages, two thousand churches, two thousand monasteries, and ten thousand houses, were burnt, or otherwise destroyed, during their continuance.

Richelieu, by a masterly train of politics, though himself was next to an enthusiast for popery, supported the Protestants of Germany, and Gustavus Adolphus, against the house of Austria; and after quelling all the rebellions and conspiracies which had been formed against him in France, he died some months before Lewis XIII., who left his son, afterwards the famous Lewis XIV., to inherit his kingdom. A. D. 1643.

The character of Richelieu is very singular. Nature seldom combines so opposite qualities in one constitution, as entered into his. He was a mere snatterer in learning, and a shallow pretender to wit; but he affected both characters so much, that he bore an implacable hatred to all who offered to dispute the one, or to ridicule the other. Though he had spent all the time he could spare from business in writing books of devotion, yet he had a passion to be the man of pleasure, and courted his mistresses, the chief of whom was one *Marion del Orme*, in the cavalier dress of those days, equipped with a hat, a sword, and a feather: His vanity was such, that he made love to the queen-consort, *Anne of Austria*, who both detested and despised him; yet such was the ascendancy he had over the genius of Lewis, that his presumption, though discovered, did him no harm. In conversation, he was an intolerable pedant; and his private life would have furnished out matter for a sarcastic comedy. With all those weaknesses, his judgment was sound, his courage

rage intrepid, and, in matters of government, his views were more just and comprehensive than those of any minister that lived in that age. He was a signal instance, that the same man, who, in his personal capacity, may make a despicable figure, may be great as a minister and a politician. His vanity rendered him a generous patron of learning; and he offered to purchase from *Corneille*, at a vast rate, the reputation of being the author of the *Cid*.

Lewis expired with resignation, in the forty-second year of his age, and on the very day which had completed the thirty-third year of his reign; a reign, that may rather be called that of *Richelieu*, than *Lewis*. When we say he possessed courage, we can add little to his character, unless we admit his docility under *Richelieu* to be a virtue. He obtained the surname of *the Just*, by the suffrage of his people; which is a strong presumption, that he was, by nature, equitable: But no prince ever reigned more uncomfortably than he did, for his inclinations and politics were ever at variance.

CHAP. LXX.

Lewis XIV.—Prince of Condé.—Mazarine.—Achievements of Lewis.—The Confederacy of the European Princes against him.—His Character.

LEWIS the Fourteenth, who afterwards attained the title of *Great*, was yet only in his fifth year; and his mother, Anne of Austria, was invested with the sole administration of affairs. During this prince's non-age, the kingdom was torn in pieces, under the administration of his mother, Anne of Austria, by the factions of the great, and the divisions between the court and parliament, for the most trifling causes, and upon the most despicable principles.

The prince of Condé flamed like a blazing star; sometimes a patriot, sometimes a courtier, and sometimes a rebel. He was opposed by the celebrated Turenne; who, from a Protestant, had turned Papist. The French nation was involved at once in civil and domestic wars; but the queen-mother having made choice of cardinal Mazarine for her first minister, he found means to turn the arms even of Cromwell against the Spaniards, and to divide the domestic enemies of the court so effectually among themselves, that, when Lewis assumed

assumed the reins of government in his own hands, he found himself the most absolute monarch that had ever sat upon the throne of France. The war was carried on with vigour against Spain, till the treaty of the Pyrenees; when peace was procured to both the exhausted monarchies, by the marriage of the French king with the infanta, Maria Theresa. The death of Mazarine, in little more than a year after, left the reins of government to Lewis. A. D. 1659.

Mazarine certainly was an useful minister to France, by concluding the Pyrenean treaty; nor can it be denied, that he had great sagacity. The success of his negotiations was owing, in a great measure, to the characters of those he dealt with, who thought themselves superior to him, though they were no better than his dupes in the arts of dissimulation and chicanery.

The young sovereign now became the idol of France, and the admiration of Europe. He had the good fortune, on the death of Mazarine, to put the domestic administration of his affairs into the hands of Colbert, who formed new systems for the glory, commerce, and manufactures of France; all which he carried to a surprising height.

The restless ambition of the French monarch, and his insatiable thirst of glory, began to disturb the peace of the continent. He invaded the Spanish Netherlands, which he reduced; and immediately afterwards made himself master of Franche-Comté. A progress so rapid, filled Europe with terror and consternation; and a triple alliance was formed, by England, Holland, and Sweden, to check his arms. This measure was effectual: The victorious Lewis thought it necessary to limit his ambition for the present; and a treaty of peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle the same year. A. D. 1663.

France increased in glory and national strength. Lewis, still ambitiously determining on the conquest of Holland, entered that country, and made himself master of no less than forty strong towns in about two months. The distress and consternation of the Dutch cannot be described. As the last resource, the sluices were opened, by the command of the magistrates of Amsterdam; and the neighbouring country was laid under water, without regard to the fertile fields, the numerous villas, and flourishing villages, which were overwhelmed by the inundation! The war continued to the peace of Nimeguen. A. D. 1672.

By his impolitic and unjust revocation of the edict of Nantz, and the persecution of the Protestants that followed it,

it, he obliged them to take shelter in England, Holland, and different parts of Germany; where they established the silk manufactures, to the great prejudice of their own country.

Ignorance and ambition were the great enemies of Lewis. Through the former, he was blind to every patriotic duty of a king, and promoted the interests of his subjects, only that he might the better answer the purposes of his greatness; by the latter, he embroiled himself with all his neighbours. His unbounded ambition rendered him odious, or formidable, to all the neighbouring kingdoms. He made and broke treaties for his convenience, and at last raised against himself a confederacy of almost all the other princes of Eu-

A. D. 1689. rope; at the head of which was king William III. of England. A long and bloody war ensued. To repel this storm, Lewis assembled two armies in Flanders: He opposed a third to the Spaniards in Catalonia; and, in order to form a barrier on the side of Germany, he laid waste the Palatinate with fire and sword. This barbarous policy can never be had in too much detestation. Men, women, and children, were driven, in a severe season, out of their habitations, to wander about in the fields, and to perish of hunger and cold; while they beheld their houses reduced to ashes, their goods seized, and their possessions pillaged by the rapacious soldiers!

The Dutch were defeated, with great slaughter, by Marschal Luxemburg. Every-where victorious, the glory and greatness of Lewis were now at their height. But the united forces of England and Austria, under the command of Marlborough and prince Eugene, at last prevailed, and rendered the latter part of his life as miserable as the beginning of it was splendid. From the year 1702, when Lewis endeavoured to establish the Pretender's title to the crown of England, to 1711, his reign was one continued series of defeats and calamities; and he had the mortification of seeing those places taken from him, which, in the former part of his reign, were acquired at the expence of many thousand lives. Just as he was reduced, old as he was, to the desperate resolution of collecting his people, and dying at their head, he was saved by the English Tory ministry deserting the cause, withdrawing from their allies, and concluding the peace of A. D. 1713. Utrecht. He survived his deliverance only two years.

The character of Lewis XIV. has generally been treated in extremes. The flatterers of his memory are too apt to term his ostentation, magnificence; his pride, magnanimity; and his cruelties, justice. Few princes ever sat on a throne, who possessed more of those ill qualities than Lewis did. His
muni-

munificence to men of genius and learning was more uncommon than it was meritorious: It seldom exceeded a hundred pounds a year, and commonly not fifty: It was paid to their flatteries, rather than their abilities; and often given and resumed by court influence. It is, however, only doing justice to the memory of Lewis, to acknowledge, that, notwithstanding the miserable education he received, he had a natural turn, which qualified him to be no bad judge of the fine arts. The blaze of royalty into which he broke out all at once, upon the death of Mazarine, was the most solid foundation of his glory; but his heart was soon corrupted by pride and ambition, and his understanding perverted by priests and statesmen. That he had not that depth of discernment which constitutes a great king, appears from the choice of his generals and ministers, whom he always supported, till they ruined his affairs, both in the field and in the cabinet. During the last twenty years of his reign, he was entirely under the influence of madame de Maintenon, a weak, visionary woman; who governed him, by permitting him to think, that his will was her law. It is now generally agreed, that she was his wife, though she never appeared as his queen.

C H A P. LXXI.

Lewis XV.—Duke of Orleans, Regent.—Law's Mississippi Scheme.—Stanislaus.—Electors of Saxony.—Battle of Dettingen.—Lewis espouses the Cause of the Pretender.—Damiens attempts to assassinate the King.—Shocking Punishment inflicted upon him.—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and of Paris.—Parliaments, and Princes of the Blood banished.—Death of Lewis.

DISCORD seemed to have left the earth with the restless spirit of Lewis XIV. His great grandson ascended the throne at the age of five years, under the title of Lewis XV.; when the duke of Orleans was declared regent. He immediately took under his consideration the state of the national debt, which amounted to near three hundred millions sterling. He called in the Louis d'ors at sixteen livres; and, when they were recoined, he obliged the people to take them at twenty livres. For this arbitrary proceeding, he made no other apology, but "that necessity has no law."

About this time, a Scottish adventurer, named John Law, made his appearance in France. Professionally a gamester, and a calculator of chances, Law had been obliged to abandon his native country, for having killed his antagonist in a duel. He visited several parts of the continent; and, on his arrival at Paris, he was particularly struck with the confusion into which the ambition of Lewis XIV. had thrown the French finances. To remedy that evil, appeared a task worthy of his daring genius; and he flattered himself, that he could accomplish it. The greatness of the idea recommended it to the duke of Orleans; whose bold spirit, and sanguine temper, induced him to adopt the wildest projects.

Law's scheme was, by speedily paying off the immense national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous interest that absorbed it. The introduction of paper-credit could alone effect this amazing revolution; and the exigencies of the state seemed to require such an expedient. Law accordingly established a bank, which was soon declared royal; and united with the Mississippi or West-India company; from whose commerce the greatest riches were expected, and which soon swallowed up all the other trading companies in the kingdom. It undertook the management of the trade to the coasts of Africa: It also obtained the privileges of the old East-India company, founded by the celebrated Colbert, which had gone to decay, and given up its trade to the merchants of St. Malo; and it at length engrossed the farming of the national taxes.

The Mississippi company, in a word, seemed established on such solid foundations, and pregnant with such vast advantages, that a share in its stock rose to above twenty times its original value. The cause of this extraordinary rise deserves to be traced.

It had long been believed, on the doubtful relations of travellers, that the country in the neighbourhood of the river Mississippi contained inexhaustible treasures. Law availed himself of this credulity, and endeavoured to encourage and increase it by mysterious reports. It was whispered, as a secret, that the celebrated, but supposed fabulous, mines of St. Barbe, had at length been discovered; and that they were much richer than even fame had reported them. In order to give the greater weight to this deceitful rumour, a number of miners were sent out to Louisiana, to dig, as was pretended, the abundant treasure; with a body of troops, sufficient to defend them against the Spaniards and Indians, as well as to protect the precious produce of their toils †!

† Raynal.

The impression which this stratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty, is altogether astonishing. Every one was eager to obtain a share in the stock of the new company. The Mississippi scheme became the grand object, and the ultimate aim of all pursuits. Even Law himself, deceived by his own calculations, and intoxicated with the public folly, had fabricated so many notes, that the chimerical value of the funds in 1719 exceeded fourscore times the real value of the current coin of the kingdom, which was almost all in the hands of government.

The profusion of paper, in which only the debts of the state were paid off, first occasioned suspicion, and afterwards spread a general alarm. The late financiers, in conjunction with the great bankers, exhausted the royal bank, by continually drawing upon it for large sums. Every one wanted to convert his notes into cash; but the disproportion of specie was immense. Public credit sunk at once; and a tyrannical edict, forbidding private persons to keep by them above five hundred livres, served only to crush it more effectually, and to inflame the injured and insulted nation against the regent. Law, who had been appointed comptroller-general of the finances, and loaded with respect, was now execrated, and obliged to fly from a country he had beggared, without enriching himself, in order to discharge the debts of the crown. The distress of the kingdom was so great, and the public creditors so numerous, that government was under the necessity of affording them relief. Upwards of five hundred thousand sufferers, chiefly fathers of families, presented their whole fortunes in paper; and government, after liquidating these debts, which are said to have originally amounted to a sum too incredible to be named, charged itself with the enormous debt of sixteen hundred and thirty-one millions of livres, to be paid in specie*.

Thus ended, in France, the famous Mississippi scheme, so ruinous to the fortune of individuals, but ultimately beneficial to the state, which it relieved from an excessive load of debt, though it threw the finances for a time into the utmost disorder.

The general tranquillity of Europe met with little interruption from the peace of Utrecht till the year 1734. At that period, a flame broke out, in consequence of the death of Augustus II. king of Poland; and soon spread itself through every part of Europe. The French king supported the pretensions of Stanislaus, whose daughter he had married, in opposition to the elector of Saxony, whose cause was supported

* Voltaire.

by the Russians and Austrians. After a war of two years, a treaty was concluded; by which it was agreed, that Stanislaus should renounce his claim to the throne of Poland, and should be put in possession of Lorraine and Bar.

A. D. 1740. The death of the emperor, Charles VI., involved France in another war, from a desire of breaking the power of the house of Austria, and exalting that of Bourbon on its ruins, by dismembering the dominions of Maria Theresa, and placing on the imperial throne Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, a stipendiary of his Most Christian Majesty.

The cause of the archduchess, Maria Theresa, was warmly espoused by the king and people of Great-Britain, who voted her liberal supplies; and 16,000 British troops were sent over to her assistance.

At the battle of Dettingen, the English were A. D. 1743. victorious. Terror seized the whole French army, every one crying, "Save himself, who can!" so that the duke de Noailles found himself under the necessity of precipitately retreating over the Maine, with the loss of five thousand men*. George II., and his son, the duke of Cumberland, dined on the field of battle, and in the evening prosecuted their journey to Hanau.

As Great-Britain was the only power the A. D. 1744. French had to dread, they formed a plan of diversion for her forces, by inviting into France the eldest son of the pretender to the British crown. It is uncertain upon what terms the young adventurer, whose family had been so often the dupes of French treachery, embraced the proposal; nor are the designs of the French, in their operations, very intelligible. Cardinal Tencin, who owed his elevation to the purple to the old pretender, had succeeded to great part of Fleury's power, and, without doubt, was the first who suggested to Lewis the scheme of an invasion. We can scarcely suppose the French court to have been so credulous as to imagine they could have imposed a descendant of the Stuarts on the people of England for their king; but, without any such romantic view, the scheme was undoubtedly founded on true maxims of policy.

The following year, the king and dauphin had their vanity highly gratified, by their troops gaining the battle of Fontenoy. The loss of the Hanoverians, who behaved gallantly, was very great, in proportion to their numbers; but that of the Dutch and Austrians, inconsiderable. The French had near ten thousand men killed, and among these many

* Voltaire.—Smollett.

persons of distinction; yet was their joy at their good fortune extravagantly high. Their exultation, in the hour of triumph, seemed to bear a proportion to the danger they had been in of a defeat. The princes of the blood embraced one another on the field of battle, and dissolved in tears of mutual congratulations*. An end was put to the progress of this war, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; the basis of which was, a restitution of all the places A. D. 1748. taken on both sides.

About eight years after, hostilities were again renewed; and the storm raged with violence A. D. 1756. over the greater part of Europe. Germany, France, Russia, and Sweden, were combined against Prussia and Great-Britain.

On the 6th of January, 1757, Damien, a native of Arras, attempted to kill the king. The death this poor fanatical wretch suffered, is shocking to humanity; and, although the act of a people who pride themselves in civility and refinement, might fill the heart of savages with horror. He was conducted to the common place of execution amidst a vast concourse of the populace, stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves: One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur; his thighs, legs, and arms, were torn with red-hot pincers; boiling oil, melted lead, rosin, and sulphur, were poured into the wounds; and, to complete the awful catastrophe, tight ligatures being tied round his limbs, he was torn to pieces by young and vigorous horses!

The unsettled senses of Damien had been inflamed by the disputes between the clergy and the parliament; when the latter were banished by the king, and new judges elected in their absence: But the parliament was afterwards recalled; and the archbishop of Paris being sent into exile, the tumults of the people subsided. The danger he had escaped, probably induced the king to a compromise with the parliament.

After the most active, splendid, and universal war, that ever divided the human race,—the A. D. 1763. most bloody between disciplined armies, and the most general in Europe,—peace was concluded at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763, as humiliating to France, as it was honourable to England.

The hatred between the clergy and the parliament revived with increased rancour. The latter at length triumphed over the former; and the order of the Jesuits, who were the cause of these commotions, was totally abolished throughout the na-

* Voltaire.—Millet.

tion, and their effects confiscated. These disturbances were followed by others between the king and the parliament. The latter ventured to remonstrate against edicts issued by Lewis for the continuance of some taxes, which were to have ended with the war; and to question his absolute authority: The different parliaments of the provinces did the same: The king sent orders to the governors to have the edicts registered by force; and the whole kingdom was a scene of commotion. These disputes between the monarch and his parliament continued, with little intermission, till near the close of his reign; when he banished the ancient parliaments, created new tribunals, and framed new laws. The princes of the blood, who had protested against the late innovations, were exiled for a time from court; and the whole nation murmured against the tyranny of the king.

Lewis, sunk in voluptuousness, was insensible to the complaints of his people; and successively resigned himself to the fatal counsels of the marchioness de Pompadour, and the countess du Barre, his favourite mistresses; who confirmed him in his first arbitrary measures, and on whose relations the treasures and honours of the state were lavished. The nation groaned under the most oppressive taxes, to support their extravagance; and the title of Well-beloved, which had once been bestowed on the monarch, was effaced, by his rapacity, profusion, and excess. The small-pox
A. D. 1774. put a period to his life, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-ninth of his reign.

C H A P. LXXII.

Lewis XVI.—M. Neckar.—Calonne.—Assembly of the Notables.—M. de Brienne.—Mirabeau.—The Parliament is banished, and recalled, after a Month's Exile.—The Duke of Orleans is banished.—The National Assembly.—The Bastile.—The Royal Fugitives apprehended.—Massacres.—National Convention.—France declared to be a Republic.

THE late unfortunate king, Lewis XVI, succeeded his grandfather, Lewis XV. at the age of twenty. He had married, while dauphin, Maria Antonietta, sister to the emperor of Germany. Several regulations took place, soon after his accession, highly favourable to the general interests of the nation.
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The ancient parliament was recalled, and the new one was suppressed; and the ministers who had rendered themselves most obnoxious in the late reign, were removed. But, though the ancient parliament was restored, the king cautiously circumscribed its power, and was anxious to preserve his own authority as absolute as that of his predecessor. Several of the provincial parliaments also, which had been suppressed by the late monarch, were now restored. The conquest of the island of Corsica, which had so long nobly struggled for liberty, was now confirmed; but, after several years of bondage to the French, the brave Corsicans finally recovered their freedom.

M. Neckar, a Protestant, and a native of Switzerland, was placed at the head of the French finances. Possessed of distinguished and acknowledged abilities, his appointment would have excited no surprise, had it not been contrary to the constant policy of France, which had carefully excluded the aliens of her country and faith from the controul of the revenue. It now stood forward as a new instance of enlargement of mind, and liberality of sentiment; and will to posterity mark the prominent features of the reign of Lewis XVI. Under the direction of this gentleman, a general reform took place in France, throughout every department of the revenue. When hostilities commenced between France and Great-Britain, in consequence of the assistance afforded by the former to the revolted British colonies in America, the people of France were not *burthened with new taxes*, for carrying on the war; but the public revenue was augmented, by the economy, improvements, and reformation, which he introduced into the management of the finances. But the measures of M. Neckar were not calculated to procure him friends at court. The vain, the interested, and the ambitious, naturally became his enemies; and the king appears not to have possessed sufficient firmness of mind to support an upright and able minister. He was therefore displaced, and is said to have been particularly opposed by the queen's party. A. D. 1776. A. D. 1777.

By the dismissal of M. Neckar from the direction of public affairs, the finances of the nation were on the point of being entirely ruined. When the edict for registering the loan, which now amounted to the sum of three millions three hundred and thirty thousand pounds, was presented to the parliament of Paris, the murmurs of the people, and the remonstrances of that assembly, assumed a more legal and formidable form. The king, how-

however, signified his expectation to be obeyed immediately; but, though the act was registered on the following day, it was accompanied by a resolution, importing, "that the public economy was the only genuine source of abundant revenue, the only means of providing for the necessities of the state, and restoring that credit which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin." The king immediately ordered this resolution to be erased from the parliamentary records, dismissed from his service the officers who had been most active in the business, and expressed his displeasure in a speech, which commanded absolute obedience to his will in future.

However gratified by the support of his sovereign, M. de Calonne could not fail of finding himself deeply mortified by the opposition of the parliament. His address to conciliate that assembly had proved ineffectual; and he experienced their inflexible aversion at the critical juncture when their acquiescence might have proved of the most essential service. An anxious enquiry into the state of the public finances had convinced him, that the expenditure had far exceeded the revenues. In the present situation, to impose new taxes, was impossible; to continue the method of borrowing, was ruinous; and to have recourse only to economical reforms, would be found wholly inadequate: And he hesitated not to declare, that it would be impossible to place the finances on a solid basis, but by the reformation of whatever was vicious in the constitution of the state.

To give weight to this reform, the minister was sensible that something more was necessary than royal authority. He therefore resolved to have recourse to an assembly, more dignified and solemn in its character than the parliament; and which should consist, in a greater degree, of members from the various orders of the state, and the different provinces of the kingdom. This promised to be a popular measure: It implied a deference to the people at large, and might be expected to prove very acceptable. But the true and legitimate assembly of the nation, the states-general, had not met since the year 1614; nor could the minister flatter himself with the hope of obtaining the royal assent to a meeting, which a despotic sovereign could not but regard with secret jealousy. Another assembly had occasionally been substituted in the room of the states-general. This was distinguished by the title of the *Notables*, or men of note; and consisted of a number of persons, from all parts of the kingdom, chiefly selected from the higher orders of the state, and nominated by the king himself. This assembly had been convened by Henry
IV.

IV. and again by Lewis the XIII.; and was now once more summoned by the authority of the present monarch. The writs for calling together the assembly of the notables, were addressed to seven princes of the blood, nine dukes and peers of France, eight field-marschals, twenty-two nobles, eight counsellors of state, four masters of requests, eleven archbishops and bishops, thirty-seven of the heads of the law, twelve deputies of the pays d'états, the lieutenant-civil, and twenty-five magistrates of the different towns of the kingdom. The number of members was one hundred and four; and the month of January, 1787, was the period appointed for their opening. It was at the moment when the members of the notables had arrived at Paris, and when the attention of all classes in the kingdom was fixed upon their meeting as an important æra in the national history, that the minister found himself yet unprepared to submit his system to their inspection, and postponed the opening of the council to the month of February. This delay was injudicious in the highest degree; and to this the subsequent revolution is said immediately to have been owing. Politics had occupied the minds of men, particularly in the metropolis, to the exclusion of every other subject; and, during this interval, an opportunity was given to the members, of conversing with each other, communicating their complaints, and forming schemes for redress.

When M. Calonne at last met the assembly of the notables, and opened his long-expected plan, he began, by stating, that the public expenditure had, for centuries past, exceeded the revenue; that a very considerable deficiency had of course existed; and that, at his own accession to office, it was three millions three hundred and thirty thousand pounds. To remedy this evil, the comptroller-general recommended a *territorial impost*, in the nature of the *English land-tax*; from which no rank nor order of men were to be exempted. Before M. Neckar retired from the management of the finances, he had published his *Compte rendu au Roi*; in which France was represented as possessing a clear surplus of four hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. This performance had been read with avidity, and had been considered as an æra in the history of France. The credit of this statement was ably vindicated by M. de Brienne, archbishop of Thoulouse, and by the count de Mirabeau, a still more formidable enemy to Calonne. His eloquence, however, might have successfully vindicated his system and reputation against the calculations of Brienne, and the invectives of Mirabeau; but the genius of the comptroller-general sunk

under the influence of the three great bodies of the nation. The grand and essential object of reform was to equalize the public burdens; and, by rendering the taxes general, to diminish the load of the lower and most useful classes of the people. The ancient nobility, and the clergy, had ever been free from all public assessments. The crowds of new noblesse, who had purchased their patents, were, by that shameful custom, exempted from contributing proportionally to the expenses of the state. The magistracies likewise, throughout the kingdom, enjoyed their share of these exemptions; so that the whole weight of the taxes fell on those who were least able to bear them. Thus the nobility, the clergy, and the magistracy, were united against the minister; and the event was such as might be expected. The intrigues of those three bodies raised against him so loud a clamour, that, finding it impossible to stem the torrent, M. de Calonne not only resigned his place, but soon after retired to England, from the storm of persecution.

On the departure of Calonne, France was for some time without a minister. At length, M. de Brienne, archbishop of Thoulouse, was appointed comptroller-general. The notables conducted themselves with moderation, though they continued firm in rejecting the general land-tax; and the king, hopeless of attaining this object of his wish, dissolved the assembly, and had recourse to the usual mode of raising money by the royal edicts. The taxes proposed were, however, strongly disapproved by the parliament of Paris; and they positively refused to register the edict for a duty on stamps. The king, by holding what is termed a *bed of justice*, compelled them to obedience; but, on the following day, the parliament formally protested against the concession to which they had been compelled. They declared, that, as the edict had been registered, against their approbation, by the king's express command, it neither ought nor should have any force; and that the first person who should presume to attempt to carry it into execution, should be adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the galleys.

This declaration left to the crown no other alternative, than either proceeding to extremities, in support of its authority, or giving up, for ever after, the power of raising money, upon any occasion, without the consent of parliament. Painful as every appearance of violence must have proved to the mild disposition of Lewis, he could not consent to surrender, without a struggle, the authority which had been so long exercised by his predecessors. Since the commencement of the present discontents, the capital had been gradually filled with considerable bodies of troops; and about a week after

the parliament had entered the protest, an officer of the French guards, with a party of soldiers, went, at break of day, to the house of each individual member, to signify to him the king's command, that he should immediately get into his carriage, proceed to Troyes, a city of Champagne, about seventy miles from Paris, without writing or speaking to any person out of his own house, before his departure. These orders were served at the same instant; and, before the citizens of Paris were acquainted with the transaction, the parliament were already on the road to the scene of their banishment. But previous to their removal, they had presented a remonstrance on the late measures of government, and the alarming state of public affairs. In stating their opinions on taxes, they declared, that neither the parliaments, nor any other authority, excepting that of the three estates of the kingdom, collectively assembled, could warrant the laying of any permanent tax upon the people; and they strongly enforced the renewal of those national assemblies, which had rendered the reign of Charlemagne so great and illustrious.

So great was the resentment of the whole nation against the banishment of the parliament, that, after a month's exile, it was recalled. This was scarcely done, when they were desired to register a loan; at which they hesitated, notwithstanding all the manœuvres of the minister. At last, the king came to the house, and held what is called a *royal session*. The edicts were now registered; but the duke of Orleans protested, in the presence of the king, against the legality of the proceeding. The parliament protested against the legality of the session itself, but to no purpose. The duke of Orleans was banished to Villars Cotterel; and the abbé Sabatier, and M. Freteau, two members of the parliament, who had distinguished themselves in the late debate, were seized and imprisoned. The king called for the journals of the house, destroyed the protest, and forbade it to be inserted again. Great clamours were raised by the banishment of the duke of Orleans, and the other members of parliament. Remonstrances were presented by the parliaments of Paris, Bourdeaux, and Rennes; but the exiles were not recalled till about five months after. The parliament of Paris had not confined their demands to the liberation of those gentlemen; but had echoed the remonstrances of the parliament of Grenoble, and had loudly inveighed against the execution of *lettres de cachet*. So free and pointed were the speeches of two of the members, that Lewis was once more prevailed upon to recur to severity; and Messrs. d'Espremézel and Monsabert were committed to separate state-prisons.

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The remonstrance of the parliament, on this new instance of despotism, exceeded, in boldness, all the former representations of that assembly. They declared, they were now more strongly confirmed, by every proceeding, of the entire innovation which was aimed at in the constitution. "But Sire," added they, "the French nation will never adopt the despotic measures to which you are advised, and whose effects alarm the most faithful of your magistrates. We shall not repeat all the unfortunate circumstances which afflict us: We shall only represent to you, with respectful firmness, that the fundamental laws of the kingdom must not be trampled upon, and that *your authority can only be esteemed so long as it is tempered with justice.*"

Language so bold and decisive, and which asserted the controlling power of the laws above the regal authority, could not fail of seriously alarming the royal bosom. No alternative remained now to Lewis, but to plunge his country into all the calamities of civil war; or to comply with the wishes of his people, and re-establish the states-general. In the first case, he must have expected to encounter the majority of the people, animated by the exhortations and examples of their magistrates. The peers of the realm had expressed the strongest disapprobation of his measures; nor could he even depend any longer on the princes of the blood, among the military, who, during the disturbances in the provinces, had been brought to draw their swords against their countrymen,—and many of whose officers, so recently engaged in establishing the freedom of America, publicly proclaimed their abhorrence of despotism.

Yet it was not till after many a painful struggle, that Lewis could resolve to restore an assembly, whose influence must naturally overshadow that of the crown, and whose jurisdiction would confine, within narrow limits, the boundless power he had inherited from his predecessor.

During the two preceding reigns, the states-general had been wholly discontinued; and though the queen-regent, during the troubles which attended the minority of Lewis XIV. frequently expressed her intentions of calling them together, she was constantly dissuaded by the representations of the crafty Mazarine. It is probable, that the present monarch still flattered himself with the fallacious hope of being able to allure the members of that assembly to the side of the court; and having employed them to establish some degree of regularity in the finances, and to curb the spirit of the parliaments he would again dismiss them to obscurity. Under these impressions, he thought proper to assemble them; and, to conciliate the people, he again introduced their fa-
vourite,

vourite, M. Neckar, into the finances. The torture was wholly abolished; every criminal was allowed the aid of counsel; and it was decreed, that sentence of death should not be passed on any person, unless he was pronounced guilty by the majority of three judges at least.

But the most important consideration that occupied the attention of the sovereign and his ministers, was the means of re-assembling the states-general. The last meeting, in the year 1614, had been convened by application to the bailiwicks: But this mode was liable to several strong objections. The bailiwicks had been increased in number and jurisdiction; and, since that period, several provinces had been united to France. Nor were the numbers and quality of the members less an object of serious consideration. It was not till the close of the year, that the proposal of M. Neckar was adopted, and publicly registered; which fixed the number of deputies at one thousand and upwards; and ordained, that the deputies of the third estate, or commons, should equal, in number, those of the nobility and clergy united.

The eyes of all Europe were now turned on the states-general, or national assembly; whose A D. 1789. re-establishment presented a new æra in the government of France. The minds of the French had long been agitated by various humours: The unanimity which had been expected from the different orders of the states, was extinguished, by the jarring pretensions of each; and their mutual jealousies were attributed, by the suspicions of the people, to the intrigues of the court, who were supposed already to repent of the hasty assent that had been extorted. A dearth, which pervaded the kingdom, increased the general gloom and discontent; and the people, pressed by hunger, and inflamed by resentment, were ripe for revolt. The sovereign also, equally impatient of the obstacles he incessantly encountered, could not conceal his chagrin. The influence of the queen in the cabinet was again established, and was attended by the immediate removal of M. Neckar. This step, which evinced a total change of resolutions, and which, from the popularity of the minister, was likely to produce a violent fermentation in every order of men, was followed by others, equally injudicious. The states-general were driven into the "*Salle des Etats*," where they held their meetings, by detachments of the guards, who surrounded them, and who waited only the orders of the court to proceed to greater extremities against the obnoxious representatives of the nation.

Had these manifestations of vigour been only sustained by instantly attacking and entering Paris, it is not to be doubted
that

that, unprepared as it still was, and unwilling to expose to the licence of an incensed soldiery the lives and properties of its citizens, the capital would have been, without difficulty, reduced to obedience. But the delay which succeeded, gave the inhabitants time to recover from their first emotions of surprize and apprehension. They saw the timidity and imbecility of the government; who, having founded the charge, dared not advance to the attack. They profited by this want of exertion; and rapidly passing from one extreme to another, they almost unanimously took up arms against their rulers and oppressors. Joined by the French guards, who, from a long residence in the capital, had been peculiarly exposed to seduction, and who at this decisive moment abandoned their sovereign, the Parisians broke through every obstacle by which they had hitherto been restrained. The supplies of arms and ammunition, which had been provided for their subjugation, were turned against the crown; and the "Hotel des Invalides," the great repository of military stores, after a faint resistance, surrendered. The prince de Lambesc, who alone, of all the officers commanding the royal troops in the vicinity of Paris, attempted to carry into execution the plan for disarming the capital, was repulsed in a premature and injudicious attack, which he made at the head of his dragoons, near the entrance of the garden of the Tuilleries. Already the "Prevot des Marchands," M. de Flefels, convicted of entertaining a correspondence with the court, and detected in sending private intelligence to M. de Launay, governor of the Bastille, had been seized by the people, and was the first victim to the general indignation. His head, borne on a lance, exhibited an alarming spectacle of the danger to which adherence to the sovereign must expose, in a time of anarchy and insurrection.

The Bastille alone remained; and, while it continued in the power of the crown, Paris could not be regarded as free, or even secure from the severest chastisement.

July 14. 1789. It was instantly invested by a mixed multitude, composed of citizens, and soldiers, who had joined the popular banner. De Launay, who commanded in the castle, by an act of perfidy, unjustifiable under any circumstances, and which rendered his fate less regretted, rather accelerated than delayed the capture of this important fortress. He displayed a flag of truce, and demanded a parley; but abusing the confidence which these signals inspired, he discharged a heavy fire from the cannon and musquetry of the place upon the besiegers, and made a considerable carnage. Far from intimidating, he only augmented, by so treacherous a breach of faith, the rage of an incensed populace.

lace. They renewed their exertions with a valour raised to frenzy, and were crowned with success. The Bastile, that awful engine of despotism, whose name alone diffused terror, and which for many ages had been sacred to silence and despair, was entered by the victorious assailants. De Launay was seized, and dragged to the "Place de Greve;" and was instantly dispatched; and his head carried in triumph through the streets of Paris.

In this prison were found the most horrible engines, for putting to the severest tortures those unhappy persons whom the cruelty or jealousy of the monarch, or even of his favourite mistress, had determined to destroy. An iron cage, about twelve tons in weight, was found, with the skeleton of a man in it; who had probably lingered out a great part of his days in that horrible mansion. Among the prisoners released by its destruction, were, major White, a Scotsman, earl Mazarine, an Irish nobleman, and the count de Lorges. The former appeared to have his intellectual faculties almost totally impaired, by the long confinement and miseries he had endured; and, by being unaccustomed to converse with any human creature, he had forgotten the use of speech. Earl Mazarine, on his arrival at the British shore, eagerly jumped out of the boat, fell down on his knees, and, kissing the ground there, exclaimed, "God bless this land of liberty." The count de Lorges, at a very advanced period of life, was also liberated, and exhibited to the public curiosity in the "Palais Royal." His squalid appearance, his white beard, which descended to his waist, and, above all, his imbecility, resulting probably from the effect of an imprisonment of thirty-two years, were objects highly calculated to operate upon the senses and passions of every beholder.

With the Bastile expired the royal authority and consideration. The despotism of the French princes, which long prescription, submission, and military strength, seemed to render equally sacred and unassailable; which neither the calamities of the close of Lewis the Fourteenth's reign, the profligacy and enormities of the succeeding regency, nor the state of degradation into which the monarchy sunk under Lewis XV. had ever shaken; that power, which appeared to derive its support almost as much from the loyalty and veneration, as from the dread and terrors of the subject, fell prostrate in the dust, and never betrayed a symptom of returning life. The national assembly immediately began to form a new constitution; of which the following are fundamental positions: 1. Men are born, and always continue free, and equal, in respect of their rights: Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility. 2. The end of all

all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are, liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression. 3. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority, which is not expressly derived from it.—They abolished the monastic orders, though some of the houses remain, for the accommodation of the few who wish not to return into the world. They invested the right of peace and war in the nation; they annihilated the titles of the nobility; they took the immense states of the clergy, and consecrated them to the service of the nation, allowing the ecclesiastics a certain annual stipend.

Notwithstanding the solemn oath which his majesty had taken, to support the new constitution, on the night of Monday the 20th of June, about twelve o'clock, the A. D. 1791. king and queen of France, with their infant children, and Monsieur and Madame, commenced the execution of their long-meditated project to the army of royalists. The centinels, it is said, were gained by means of bribes. His majesty and the royal family were absent about six hours, before a discovery took place; and a paper was left behind him, in which the king declared, "*that he solemnly renounced all the oaths to which he had set his name.*" The route of the royal fugitives, which had been expected to be towards the Austrian Netherlands, the nearest frontiers of the kingdom, was in fact directed towards Metz, from the presence of so gallant and accomplished a royalist as M. de Bouillé in that quarter, from its vicinity to the prince of Conde's army in Germany, and from the probable reluctance of Leopold to hazard the tranquillity of his Netherlands, by permitting any incursion from them into France. They reached St. Menchould, a small town, about 150 miles from Paris. The king was there recognized by the postillion, who said to him, "*Mon roi, je vous connois, mais je ne vous trahirai pas.*" "I know you, my king, but I will not betray you." But the postmaster, M. Drouet, less full of monarchic prejudice, and more solicitous for the tranquillity of his country, adopted a different conduct. He refrained, with great dexterity and presence of mind, from betraying his knowledge of the rank of the royal travellers, being much struck with the resemblance which his majesty's countenance bore to his effigy, on an assignat of 50 livres. The carriages taking the road to Varennes, he went a cross road, in order to rejoin them; and arriving before them at Varennes, he alarmed the town, and assembled the national guards, who, notwithstanding the detachment of hussars to protect his route,

route, disarmed them, and the king was then made a prisoner; and at six o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th of June, their majesties, with the dauphin and madame royale, arrived at the Tuilleries.

On the *tenth* of August of the following year, the Swiss guards of the king were massacred. A. D. 1792. The people assembled, in thousands, about the Tuilleries. The cannon were pointed upon the palace, which was guarded by a body of Swiss. The Swiss, having been insulted, and hard pressed upon by those who came against them, were at last obliged to fire in their own defence. The mob, however, finally prevailed; and, horrid to relate! the Swiss, consisting of above 500, almost to a man, were inhumanly butchered. All the doors and windows of the palace were broken, and the furniture entirely destroyed. During all these disorders, the king and royal family were sitting among the deputies of the national assembly, where they had taken refuge. There the king heard pronounced the decree which deprived him of all his functions, and of every atom of power; which cashiered his ministers, annihilated the civil list, and convoked the primary assemblies, in order to appoint deputies to a national convention.

On the *second* of September, intelligence of the investment of Verdun was first received in Paris. The citizens assembled in the Champ de Mars, and with one voice devoted themselves for service against the enemy.

They had enemies, however, within the walls of the city. With regard to them, a dreadful resolution was taken; and the phrenzied populace divided into parties. The prisons were forced; and all who were imprisoned for alledged crimes against the state, were put to the sword, one by one, as they were let out of the prison. About 161 clergymen, who had been confined in the Carmelite convent, were brought forth, two by two, and instantly dispatched. Madame Lamballe, half sister of the duke of Orleans, and niece to the king of Sardinia, was also put to death*. At two o'clock on Sunday afternoon, three alarm guns were fired, the tocsin was sounded, and the general was beat. From seven o'clock on that evening to day-break on Monday, slaughter pervaded Paris; and the streets were strewn with the carcases of the mangled victims. On Monday, at twelve o'clock, the tumult continued, with little diminution. The national assembly, the public offices, and the treasury, during all these horrors, were inviolate.

* This lady was murdered by an Italian, valet de chambre to the duke of Orleans.

On the morning of the 20th of September, 201 deputies to the national convention met, and enrolled their names, at the Thuilleries; of which the national assembly were immediately informed. The functions of the latter body, however, were not to cease, till 200 members of the former should verify their powers. In the afternoon, the number of new deputies amounted to 400, who elected M. Petion their president. Next morning, the convention sent a deputation of twelve of its members to the national assembly; in consequence of which, the latter repaired in a body to the hall of the assembly, and paid its compliments to the new legislature. The abolition of royalty was proposed by one of the members of the convention, and was carried into a decree, notwithstanding several of the members suggested, that its importance required a very serious discussion. It was also decreed, that the constitution framed by the convention, should be submitted to the French nation, for their acceptance. At night, it was determined, that emblems of liberty should be substituted for the head of the king in the national coins and assignats. On the 22d, it was determined, that the title of the first year of republicanism should be employed in all acts of the convention; that the seals, &c., bearing the expression of royalty, should be destroyed; and that a new oath should be taken by all the citizens. France being thus declared to be a *Republic*, they proceeded to establish that form of government.

In the month of October, the duke of Brunswick, commander of the confederate German and Prussian troops, issued threatening proclamations against the French, in the style of general Burgoyne, and had well nigh met with that commander's fate: But, with the remains of a diseased and almost famished army, he made good his retreat within the German confines. The French, breathing the ardour of a nascent republic, as well as that of their own national character, elated beyond all bounds by success, sprang forth on all sides with wonderful energy. In Savoy, Geneva, Brabant, and certain towns in Germany, their sway was owned, their principles avowed, and their protection courted. The repulse of the French, by the Prussians, from Frankfort, did not form any thing like a counterbalance to the successes of Dumourier, Custine, and other commanders*.

* Vol. II. concludes with the continuation of this history.

C H A P. LXXIII.

On French Literature.

THE French, like the other nations of Europe, were for many centuries immersed in barbarity. The first learning they began to acquire, was not of that kind which improves the understanding, corrects the taste, or regulates the affections. It consisted in a subtil and quibbling logic, which was more adapted to pervert, than to improve the faculties. But the study of the Greek and Roman writers, which first arose in Italy, diffused itself among the French, and gave a new turn to their literary pursuits. This, together with the encouragement which the polite and learned Francis I. gave to all men of merit, was extremely beneficial to French literature. During this reign, many learned men appeared in France, who greatly distinguished themselves by their writings; among whom were Budeus Clement Marrot, Peter du Chatel, Rabelais, and Peter Ramus. The names of Henry and Robert Stephens are also mentioned by every scholar with respect.

It was not, however, till the seventeenth century, that the French began to write with elegance in their own language. The Academie Française was formed for this purpose; and, though their labours, considered as a body, were not so successful as might have been expected, some particular academicians have done great service to letters. In fact, literary copartnerships are seldom very successful. Of this we have a remarkable example in the present case. The Academy published a dictionary for the improving the French language: it was universally despised. Furetieres, a single academician, publishes another: it meets with universal approbation.

Lewis XIV. was the Augustus of France. The protection he gave to letters, and the pensions he bestowed on learned men, both at home and abroad, which, by calculation, did not amount to above 12,000l. per annum, have gained him more glory, than all the military enterprises, upon which he expended so many millions. The learned men who appeared in France during this reign, are too numerous to be mentioned. Their tragic poets, Racine and Corneille, have deservedly obtained a very high reputation. The first was distinguished for skill in moving the passions; the second, for majesty; and both, for the strength and justness of their painting, the elegance of their taste, and their strict adherence to the rules of the drama. Moliere would have exhausted the subjects of comedy, were they not every where inexhaustible,

and particularly in France. In works of satire, and in criticism, Boileau, who was a close imitator of the ancients, possessed uncommon merit. But France has not yet produced an epic poem, that can be mentioned with Milton's; nor a genius of the same extensive and universal kind with Shakespeare, equally fitted for the gay and the serious, the humorous and the sublime. In the eloquence of the pulpit and of the bar, the French are greatly our superiors. Bossuett, Bourdaloue, Flechier, and Massillon, have carried pulpit eloquence to a degree of perfection, which we may approach to, but can hardly be expected ever to surpass.

The genius of their religion and government, however, it must be allowed, have been extremely unfavourable to all improvements in the most useful branches of philosophy. All the establishments of Lewis XIV. for the advancement of science, were not able to overbalance the influence of the clergy, whose interest it was to keep mankind ignorant in matters of religion and morality; and the influence of the court and ministry, who had an equal interest in concealing the natural rights of mankind, and every sound principle of government. The French have not, therefore, so many good writers on moral, religious, or political subjects, as have appeared in Great-Britain.

But France has produced some great men, who do honour to humanity; whose career no obstacle could stop, whose freedom, no government, however despotic,—no religion, however superstitious, could awe or restrain. As an historian, De Thou is entitled to the highest praise. Who is ignorant of Pascal, or of the archbishop of Cambray? Few men have done more service to religion, either by their writings or their lives. As for Montesquieu, he is an honour to human nature: He is the legislator of nations: His works are read in every country and language; and wherever they have been sufficiently attended to, they have enlightened and invigorated the human mind.

In the Belles-Lettres, and miscellaneous way, no nation ever produced more agreeable writers; among whom we may place Montaigne, D'Argens, and Voltaire, as the most considerable.

Before the immortal Newton appeared in England, Descartes was the greatest philosopher in modern times. He was the first who applied algebra to the solution of geometrical problems, which naturally paved the way to the analytical discoveries of Newton. Many of the present age are excellent mathematicians; particularly D'Alembert, who, with all the precision of a geometer, has united the talents of a fine writer.

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Since the beginning of the present century, the French have almost vied with the English in natural philosophy. Buffon would deserve to be reckoned among men of science, were he not still more remarkable for his eloquence than for his philosophy. He is to be regarded as a *philosophical painter of nature*; and, under this view, his Natural History is the first work of its kind.

Their painters, Poussin, Le Brun, and, above all, Le Sueur, did honour to the age of Lewis XIV. They have none at present to compare with them in the more noble kinds of painting; but M. Greuse, for portraits and conversation-pieces, never, perhaps, was excelled.

Sculpture is, in general, better understood in France, than in most other countries of Europe. Their treatises on ship-building and engineering stand unrivalled; but, in the practice of both, they are outdone by the English. No genius has hitherto equalled Vauban in the theory or practice of fortification. The French have been long our superiors in architecture, but we now bid fair for surpassing them in this art.

The Encyclopedie, or General Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, which was drawn up by the most able masters in each branch of literature, twenty-eight volumes in folio, under the direction of Messieurs D'Alembert and Diderot, is, perhaps, one of the most complete collections of human knowledge.

C H A P. LXXIV.

G E R M A N Y.

Manners of the ancient Germans. — Subdued by the Romans, Franks, and Charlemagne. — The Imperial Dignity becomes elective. — Conrad. — Ottho-Henry IV. — Contentions between the Emperors and Popes. — Guelphs and Gibbelines. — Progress of Government in Germany. — Punishment of Jernandi. — Pragmatic Sanction.

A. D. 382. **T**HE manners of the ancient Germans are well described by the elegant and manly pencil of a celebrated Roman historian*. They were a brave and independent race of men, and peculiarly distinguished by their love of liberty and arms. They opposed the armies of the Roman empire, not in its origin or in its decline, but after it had arrived at maturity, and still continued in its full vigour. The country was divided into a number of principalities, independent of each other, though occasionally connected by a military union for defending themselves against such enemies as threatened the liberty of them all. At length, the Roman power, connected with artifice, prevailed over a great part of Germany, and it was reduced to the condition of a province. When the Roman empire was shattered by the excursions of the northern barbarians, Germany was over-run A. D. 480. by the Franks, and a considerable part of it long remained in subjection to earls and marquisses of that nation.

In this situation Germany continued, notwithstanding the efforts of particular chieftains, or princes, to reduce the rest into subjection, until the beginning of the ninth century. Then it was, that Charlemagne, one of those eccentric and superior geniuses who sometimes start up in a barbarous age, first extended his military power, and afterwards his civil authority, over the whole of this empire.

The posterity of Charlemagne inherited the empire of Germany, until the death of Lewis III. when the A. D. 911. different princes, assuming their original independence, rejected the Carlovingian line, and placed Conrad, duke of Franconia, on the throne. Since this time, Germany has ever been considered as an elective monarchy †.

The reign of Conrad, was one continued scene of troubles, though he took every necessary measure to support his authority, and preserve the tranquillity of the empire. He died

* Tacitus.

† Modern Universal History.

without

without male heirs, after recommending to the Germanic body as his successor, Henry, surnamed the Fowler, a prince of great abilities, who re-established the affairs of Germany. A. D. 919.

His son, Otho I. triumphed over many rivals, subjected Denmark and Bohemia to tribute, and became the most powerful prince of his age. He had the honour of re-uniting Italy to the Imperial dominions, and he procured a decree from the clergy, that he and his successors should have the power of nominating the pontiff, and of granting investitures to bishops. He died, after a reign of thirty-six years, during which, by his generosity and courage, he had justly acquired the appellation of OTHO THE GREAT. A. D. 973.

Otho II. surnamed the Sanguinary, on account of the blood spilt under his reign, succeeded his father at the age of eighteen. His youth occasioned troubles, which his valour enabled him to dissipate. The duke of Bavaria, and several other noblemen rebelled, but were all reduced in a short time. Denmark and Bohemia felt his power, and Rome, by new crimes, offered a theatre for his justice.

Nothing of importance happened during the reigns of several succeeding emperors, till Henry IV. surnamed the Great, succeeded to the empire. A. D. 1056.

This prince maintained a perpetual struggle with the Popes, occasioned by a famous decree, which was passed in a council of one hundred and thirteen bishops, ordaining, that, for the future, the cardinals only should elect the Pope, and that the election should be confirmed by the rest of the Roman clergy, and the people. This Henry opposed, and on being accused of still continuing to nominate bishops and abbots, (a right which his predecessors, in common with almost all princes, enjoyed) notwithstanding the apostolic decree to the contrary, a formidable sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him by Gregory VII. and his subjects withdrew their allegiance. Alarmed and astonished, he undertook a journey to Italy, in the midst of winter, accompanied only by a few domestics to ask absolution of his tyrannical oppressor. Being stripped of his clothes, and wrapped in sackcloth, he approached the haughty pontiff as a suppliant, and with difficulty obtained forgiveness.

Henry V. his son, surrendered up the right of investiture to the disgrace of the Imperial dignity. A. D. 1122. This unnatural being, at the instigation of the Popes, caused his father's body, as the carcase of an excommunicated wretch, to be dug out of the grave where it was buried, in the cathedral at Liege, and to be carried to a cave at Spire. He married Maud, or Matilda, daughter of Henry I.

king of England, by whom he had no children; so that the empire, after his death, was left without a head.

The states conferred the Imperial dignity on Lothario, duke of Saxe-Supplembourg, distinguished by a passionate love of peace, and an exact distribution of justice. Being seized with a dangerous distemper, which carried him off in the 12th year of his reign, he was succeeded by Conrad III. nephew to Henry V. But the Imperial throne was disputed by Henry the Haughty, duke of Bavaria, the name of whose family was Guelph; hence those who espoused his party, were called Guelphs; an appellation afterwards usually bestowed on the enemies of the emperors. The Imperial army was commanded by Frederic, duke of Suabia, the emperor's brother, who being born at the village of Hieghibelin, gave his soldiers the name of Gibbelines; an epithet by which the Imperial party was distinguished, while the pope's adherents grew famous under that of Guelphs. These parties, by their violence and inveteracy, tended to disquiet the empire for several ages*.

But what more deserves the attention of a judicious reader than all those noisy but uninteresting disputes, is the progress of government in Germany, which was in some measure opposite to that of the other kingdoms of Europe. When the empire raised by Charlemagne, fell asunder, all the different independent princes assumed the right of election; and those now distinguished by the name of Electors, had no peculiar or legal influence in appointing a successor to the Imperial throne. They were only the officers of the king's household, his secretary, his stewards, chaplain, marshal or master of his horse. By degrees, as they lived near the king's person, and had, like all other princes, independent territories belonging to them, they increased their influence and authority, till at last they acquired the sole right of electing the emperor. Thus while, in other kingdoms of Europe, the dignity of the great lords, who were all originally allodial, or independent barons, was diminished by the power of the king, as in France, and by the influence of the people, as in Great Britain; in Germany, on the other hand, the power of the electors was raised upon the ruins of the emperor's supremacy, and of the people's jurisdiction†.

As Conrad increased the influence and authority of the prince, his successor Frederic, surnamed Barbarossa, extended the prerogative, and supported the dignity of the empire, with equal courage and reputation. He died in an expedition to

* Voltaire.

† Dr. Robertson.

the Holy Land, and was succeeded in the Imperial throne by his son Henry VI. who copied his example. This prince detained, as a prisoner, Richard I. king of England, on his return from the Holy Land, and loaded him with irons; till he was ransomed for 150,000 marks of silver, about 300,000*l.* of our present money — an enormous sum in those days. A. D. 1196.

The Normans having rebelled, were conquered by Henry, who condemned their chiefs to perish by the most excruciating tortures. One Jornandi, of the house of the Norman princes, was tied naked on a chair of red hot iron, and crowned with a circle of the same burning metal, which was nailed to his head. The empress shocked at such cruelty, renounced her fidelity to her husband. Henry A. D. 1197. soon after died of poison.

The power which these emperors had acquired was lost by Frederic II. the son and successor of Henry VI. the last assertor of the privileges of the empire, in opposition to the pretensions of the pope.

After the death of Conrad, Frederic's son, a variety of candidates appeared for the Imperial throne, and several were elected by different parties; among whom was Richard, duke of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. king of England. No emperor, however, was properly acknowledged, till Rodolph I. count of Habsbourg, was unanimously raised to the vacant throne; whose reign was one continued scene of troubles, and, at last, ended in his deposition. A. D. 1273.

The fiercest contests were carried on for many years, by those families that aspired to the supreme power; and the quarrel of the emperors with the popes was likewise prosecuted with vigour. Benedict XII. having refused absolution to Lewis V. of Bavaria, the princes of the empire assembled at Francfort, and established the famous constitution, called the *Pragmatic Sanction*, by which it was declared, "That the majority of suffrages A. D. 1338.

" of the electoral college should confer the empire, without the consent of the pope; that he had no superiority over the emperor, nor any right to approve or reject his election."

C H A P LXXV.

Albert II.—His reign is the epoch of Austrian Grandeur.—Art of Printing invented.—Charles V.—Luther.—Reformation of Religion.—Resignation and Retirement of Charles V.—His Character.

A. D. 1438. **T**HE short reign of Albert II. archduke of Austria, may be considered as the epoch of the grandeur of the house of Austria. In the space of one year, this emperor received three crowns, viz. those of Hungary, of the empire, and of Bohemia; and the Imperial dignity continued in the male line of that family for three hundred years. In the succeeding reign, under Frederic I. I. the art of printing with *cut metal* types was invented by John Guttenburgh, of Menz. His successor Maximilian I. by his marriage with Mary, princess of Burgundy, added the Netherlands to his dominions. During this reign, Germany was divided into circles, in each of which a provincial and particular jurisdiction was established.

On the death of Maximilian, Charles V. his A. D. 1519. grandson, and heir to the kingdom of Spain in right of his mother, was elected emperor. Francis I. was a candidate at the same time, and with equal confidence of success. He trusted to his superior years and experience, as well as to his great reputation in arms. During the contest, they softened their competition by many expressions of friendship and regard. Francis in particular declared, with his usual vivacity, "that his brother Charles and he were fairly and openly suitors to the same mistress. The most assiduous and fortunate," added he, "will win her; and the other must rest contented*." But although a generous, and high-minded prince, while animated by the hope of success, might be capable of forming such a philosophic resolution, it soon appeared that he had promised a moderation too refined for humanity, and which he was little able to practise. The preference was no sooner given to his rival, than Francis discovered all the passions natural to disappointed ambition. He could not suppress his chagrin and indignation, at being balked in his favourite purpose, and rejected in the face of all Europe, for a youth yet unknown to fame. The spirit of Charles rent such contempt: and from this jealousy, as much as from opposition of interests, arose that emulation be-

* Guicciardini.

tween those two great monarchs, which involved them in almost perpetual hostilities, and kept their whole age in agitation.

When princes or private persons are resolved to quarrel, it is easy to find a brand of discord. Charles and Francis had many interfering claims in Italy; and, besides these obvious sources of contention and competition, the latter thought himself bound in honour to restore the king of Navarre to his dominions, unjustly seized by the crown of Spain. They immediately began to negotiate; and as Henry VIII. of England was the third prince of the age in power and in dignity, his friendship was eagerly courted by each of the rivals. He was the natural guardian of the liberties of Europe. Sensible of the consequence which his situation gave him, and proud of his pre-eminence, Henry knew it to be his interest to keep the balance even between the contending powers, and to restrain both by not joining constantly with either. But he was seldom able to reduce his ideas to practice. He was governed by caprice more than by principle. The passions of the man were ever an over-match for the maxims of the king. Vanity and resentment were the great springs of all his actions; and his neighbours, by touching these, found an easy way to draw him into their measures*.

This was the period of the reformation of religion, which took place in several parts of Germany, and afterwards extended its effects, not only to all the kingdoms of Europe, but likewise to the most distant parts of the globe, bringing about as important a revolution, as is recorded either in the ancient or modern history of mankind. Perhaps no revolution ever had so marked and general an influence upon the industry of nations, the government of kingdoms, the manners of men, the progress of science, and upon society in general. The popes had acquired excessive power, both in things spiritual and temporal. All Europe bowed under the yoke of Rome, and trembled at the name of pontiff. Those who from time to time had boldly attempted to withstand this formidable power, had all miscarried. Emperors, kings, and nations, had in vain employed force, religion, and science, to break their chains; the pontiff's throne remained unshaken, and his enemies, after unavailing attempts, were obliged to acknowledge themselves the slaves of the see of Rome. An uninterrupted train of triumphs over the Christian world, seemed firmly to have established the despotism of the popes. But there is an appointed time for every thing. It was reserved by Providence for an obscure individual to shake this formidable throne, to deprive the Romish sovereign of one half of his empire, and

* Dr. Robertson,

discompose the other; to rouse men from that deep sleep in which they were buried, and present them with the lamp of reason and religion, with which they might see the errors, impostures, and usurpations of the Latin church; and chiefly, that they might feel the misery of their servile condition. Luther was the author, or rather instrument, of this memorable revolution. Born at Eysleben, in Saxony, of parents in a low station of life, he was put into a convent of Augustin Friars, where he soon distinguished himself by his great application to study, by his penetration, and chiefly, by an easy and bold manner of expressing himself. He was made teacher of philosophy at Wittemberg, and soon rose to be professor of theology in the same city, where he acquired great reputation. At this time Leo X. the patron of the arts and sciences, wanted to finish the superb church of St. Peter in Rome, and seeing his treasure exhausted, he opened a treasury of indulgences. They were sent from Rome to be sold in Germany; and the Dominicans were charged with the sale of them. Never was there so scandalous an abuse of indulgences. They were sold publicly as mercantile ware, and with the greatest indecency in taverns and ale-houses *. They were proclaimed as heavenly favours, which of themselves blotted out the most heinous crimes. This tended to the encouragement and increase of all kinds of vice. The wicked were not deterred by any motive of fear from the commission of crimes. Hence we may easily conceive how very dangerous such a doctrine was to society, chiefly at a time, when the voice of conscience was stifled by superstition, and reason and true religion almost lost in a crowd of absurd errors. Whether it was a detestation of this doctrine, and these abuses, or jealousy, as some say, the Augustin Friars made choice of Luther to preach against indulgences, and those who sold them. The young monk possessed of a lively imagination, and armed with the flambeau of reason and scripture, declaimed with great strength of eloquence against those pernicious maxims, and pointing out the true nature of indulgences, cooled the zeal of the purchasers. Emboldened by this success his views went farther; he displayed and attacked the usurpations and errors of the church of Rome. In a word, he tore off the veil which hid her vices from the eyes of the world, and the throne of the pontiffs began to totter. Leo, who at first despised Luther, was alarmed at the progress of that reformer, and summoned him before his tribunal at Rome. Frederic of Saxony, who protected him, obtained the favour of having his cause tried in Germany. Luther appeared at the diet of Augsberg, pro-

* Mosheim.

tested by the emperor Charles's safe conduct. Cardinal Cajetan, who was his judge, refused to hear him, and would oblige him to retract. Luther would not comply, appealed to a general council, retired secretly from Augsburg, and returned into his own country, attended by many profelytes. Hitherto Leo had contented himself with threatenings; but as the reformation increased, he thundered out anathemas, and would punish him whom he considered as the author. The condemnation of the Pope denounced against him, did but irritate Luther the more. Protected by his sovereign and countrymen, he renewed his appeal to a general council, treated the Pope as Anti-Christ, burnt the bull of excommunication at Wittemberg, attacked the most valuable doctrines of the church of Rome, and spoke with contempt of her most solemn ceremonies. Charles V. at the request of Leo, ordered the reformer to appear at the diet of Worms. Luther came, spoke with a decent boldness, confessed that his zeal might have carried him beyond the bounds of a wise moderation, but at the same time refused to retract his opinions, unless they could convince him of their falsehood. Neither promises nor threatenings could shake his resolution. His firmness alarmed the Romish clergy; and it was proposed to Charles to imitate Sigismund, who, notwithstanding the faith of a safe conduct, delivered John Huss and Jerome of Prague to the flames.

The emperor, not willing to stain his character with so odious a crime, permitted Luther to retire; but soon after, an edict appeared in the name of Charles V. forbidding the princes of the empire to harbour him, and enjoining them to apprehend him, as soon as his safe conduct should expire.

The elector of Saxony, not daring to protect him openly, concealed him in a castle, by which he was secured from the fury of his enemies, had time to digest his system, and form a body of doctrines. His first attack was against the doctrines of the church of Rome. He admitted only two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, considering the rest as the invention of self-interest, and adopted by superstition. He rejected the invocation of saints, not only as useless, but idolatrous. Prayers for the dead he considered as a snare to the faithful; purgatory as an absurdity invented by the avarice of the clergy; and auricular confession as a ridiculous ceremony.

The doctrines of consubstantiation, justifying faith, and predestination, were his favourite tenets. From doctrines he passed to the government of the church. He maintained that the pope has no authority beyond the diocese of Rome, and that the jurisdiction of bishops is founded only in the choice which Christians make. He represented the most part of clerical distinctions

distinctions as the effect of a most odious tyranny. He treated the opulence of ecclesiastics as a criminal usurpation. He shewed celibacy to be a source of many abuses, and that religious vows which prevent marriage, are contrary to the nature of the gospel. He opened the cloisters, caused the priests to marry, set them an example by taking one of the nuns to be his wife, exhorted princes to seize the wealth of the clergy, to take part of it to themselves, and with the rest, to found colleges and hospitals, to promote national industry, and repair the public highways.

These rational and praise-worthy views engaged the elector of Saxony more than ever to protect him. From this time Luther had the happiness to see his country embrace his doctrine, and adopt the reformation. From Saxony, his opinions passed into Hesse, which country became also reformed, and a great part of the north of Germany.

Multitudes of disciples seconded his efforts. Melancthon, one of the finest geniuses of his time, was the chief support of the Lutheran reformation, and gave it immense respect by his knowledge and moderation*.

At the same time, pious and zealous men spread the reformed doctrines through Europe. Bucer introduced them into the Imperial cities upon the Rhine; and Olaus into Sweden, his native country. What triumph for Luther, to see the half of Europe shaking off the yoke of Rome; entire kingdoms adopting his opinions, a powerful party consulting him, and receiving his decisions with respect! How great the glory of this reformer, to have changed the world, enlightened the minds of men, restored primitive Christianity, and the use of the scriptures to all, and to die peaceably in the midst of his family, without fear and without remorse?

Charles V. had been successful in above thirty battles, where he commanded himself; but in the decline of life his good fortune began to forsake him, and being highly chagrined at this change, and oppressed by sickness, he resigned the empire to his brother Ferdinand, and the A. D. 1556. kingdom of Spain, the Netherlands, Italian dominions, &c. to his son Philip II. He then retired from the world, and passed the remainder of his days in the monastery of St. Justus, in Estramadura, which he preferred as the place of his retreat. It was seated in a valley of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds, covered with lofty trees. In this solitude, Charles lived on a plan that would have suited a private gentleman of moderate fortune. His table was plain, his do-

* Medicin.

melts few, and his intercourse with them familiar. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands, sometimes rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horse, the only one which he kept, attended by a single servant on foot: and when his infirmities deprived him of these more active recreations, he admitted a few gentlemen who resided near the monastery, to visit him, and entertained them as equals; or he employed himself in studying the principles, and in framing curious works of mechanism, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. But, however he was engaged, or whatever might be the state of his health, he always set apart a considerable portion of his time to religious exercises, regularly attending divine service in the chapel of the monastery, morning and evening.

In this manner, not unbecoming a man perfectly disengaged from the affairs of the world, did Charles pass his time in retirement. But some months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermission than usual, returned with a proportional increase of violence, and enfeebled both his body and mind to such a degree, as to leave no traces of that sound and masculine understanding, which had distinguished him among his cotemporaries. He sunk into a deep melancholy. An illiberal and timid superstition depressed his spirit. He lost all relish for amusements of every kind, and desired no other company but that of monks. With them he chaunted the hymns in the Missal, and conformed to all the rigours of monastic life, tearing his body with a whip, as an expiation for his sins*. Not satisfied with these acts of mortification, and anxious to merit the favour of Heaven, by some new and singular instance of piety, he resolved to celebrate his own obsequies. His tomb was accordingly erected in the chapel of the monastery; and his attendants walked thither in funeral procession. Charles followed them in his shroud. He was laid in his coffin, and the service of the dead was chaunted over him; he himself joining in the prayers that were put up for the repose of his soul, and mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral.

The fatiguing length of this ceremony, or the awful sentiments which it inspired, threw Charles into a fever, of which he died in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His enterprizes speak his most eloquent panegyric. As no prince ever governed so extensive an empire, including his American dominions, none seems ever to have been endowed with a superior

* Dr. Robertson.

capacity for sway. His abilities as a statesman, and even as a general, were of the first class; and he possessed in the most eminent degree, along with indefatigable industry, the science which is of the greatest importance to a monarch, that of discerning the characters of men, and of adapting their talents to the various departments in which they are to be employed. But, unfortunately for the reputation of Charles, his insatiable ambition, which kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects in perpetual inquietude, not only frustrated the chief end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care, but obliged him to have recourse to low artifice, unbecoming his exalted station, and led him into such deviations from integrity, as were unworthy of a great prince. This insidious policy, in itself sufficiently detestable, was rendered still more odious by a comparison with the open and undesigning character of Francis I. and served, by way of contrast, to turn on the French monarch a degree of admiration, to which neither his own talents, nor his virtues as a sovereign, seem to have entitled him.

C H A P. LXXVI.

Peace of Westphalia.—Prince Eugene.—Peace of Utrecht.—Queen of Hungary.—Achievements of the King of Prussia, and of Generals Brown and Daun.—Joseph II.—Leopold Joseph.—Literature and Fine Arts.

DURING the reigns of several succeeding emperors nothing of great importance is recorded, except the violent commotions which were excited by the Catholics and Lutherans, which desolated the empire, till Ferdinand III. concluded the peace of Westphalia, by which A. D. 1648. the Catholic and Protestant religions were equally established. This peace preserved the empire from destruction; and Germany, from that time, has been gradually increasing in power and splendor.

Ferdinand was succeeded in the Imperial dignity by his son Leopold, a severe, unamiable, and not very fortunate prince. He had two great powers to contend with; France on the one side, and the Turks on the other; and was a loser in his wars with both. France took from him Alsace, and many other frontier places of the empire. And the Turks would have taken Vienna, had

had not the siege been raised by John Sobieski, king of Poland.

Prince Eugene, of Savoy, was a young adventurer in arms, about the year 1697; and being one of the Imperial generals, gave the Turks the first checks they received in Hungary, and by the peace of Carlowitz, Transylvania was ceded to the emperor. The empire how- A. D. 1699
ever could not have withstood the power of France, had not the prince of Orange, afterwards king William III. of England, laid the foundation of the grand confederacy against the French power. The Hungarians, secretly encouraged by the French, and exasperated by the unfeeling tyranny of Leopold, were still in arms, under the protection of the Porte or Turks, when that prince died.

He was succeeded by his son Joseph, who put the electors of Cologne and Bavaria to the ban A. D. 1705.
of the empire; but being very ill served by prince Lewis of Baden, the general of the empire, the French partly recovered their affairs, notwithstanding their repeated defeats. The duke of Marlborough, though he obtained very splendid victories, had not all the success he expected or deserved. Joseph himself was suspected of a design to subvert the Germanic liberties; and it was plain by his conduct, that he expected England should take the labouring oar in the war, which was chiefly carried on for his benefit. The English were disgusted at his slowness and selfishness; but he died before he reduced the Hungarians, and leaving no male issue, was succeeded in the empire by his brother Charles VI. whom the allies were endeavouring to place on the throne of Spain, in opposition to Philip, duke of Anjou, grandson to Lewis XIV.

When the peace of Utrecht took place, Charles at first made a shew as if he would continue the A. D. 1713.
war; but found himself unable, now that he was forsaken by the English. He was therefore obliged to conclude a peace with France at Baden, that he might attend the progress of the Turks in Hungary, where they received a total defeat from prince Eugene at the battle of Peterwaradin. They received A. D. 1714.
another of equal importance from the same general, before Belgrade, which fell into the hands A. D. 1717.
of the Imperialists; and next year the peace of Passarowitz, between them and the Turks, was concluded.

Charles employed every minute of his leisure in making arrangements for increasing and preserving his hereditary dominions in Italy and the Mediterranean. Happily for him, the crown of Britain devolved to the house of Hanover; an
event

event which gave him a very decisive weight in Europe, by the connections between George I. and II. in the empire. Charles was sensible of this, and carried matters with so high a hand, that a breach ensued between him and George I. and so unsteady was the system of affairs all over Europe at that time, that the capital powers often changed their old alliances, and concluded new ones contradictory to their interest. Without entering into particulars, it is sufficient to observe, that the safety of Hanover, and its aggrandisement, was the main object of the British court; as that of the emperor was the establishment of the pragmatic sanction, in favour of his daughter, the late empress-queen, he having no male issue. Mutual concessions upon those great points restored a good understanding between George II. and the emperor Charles; and the elector of Saxony being prevailed upon by the prospect of gaining the throne of Poland, relinquished the great claims he had upon the Austrian succession.

The emperor, after this, had very bad success in a war he entered into with the Turks, which he had undertaken chiefly to indemnify himself for the great sacrifices he had made in Italy to the princes of the house of Bourbon. Prince Eugene was then dead, and he had no general to supply his place. The system of France under cardinal Fleury, happened at that time to be pacific, and she obtained for him, from the Turks, a better peace than he had reason to expect. Charles, to keep the German and other European powers easy, had before his death, given his eldest daughter, the late empress-queen, in marriage to the duke of Lorraine, a prince who could bring no accession of power to the Austrian family. Charles died in the year 1740.

He was no sooner in the grave than all he had so long laboured for must have been overthrown, had it not been for the firmness of George II. The pragmatic sanction was attacked on all hands. The young king of Prussia, with a powerful army entered, and conquered Silesia, which he said had been wrongfully dismembered from his family. The king of Spain and the elector of Bavaria set up claims directly incompatible with the pragmatic sanction, and in this they were joined by France; though all those powers had solemnly guaranteed it. The Imperial throne A. D. 1742. after a considerable vacancy, was filled up by the elector of Bavaria, who took the title of Charles VII. The French poured their armies into Bohemia, where they took Prague; and the queen of Hungary, to take off the weight of Prussia, was forced to cede to that prince

prince the most valuable part of the duchy of Silesia by a formal treaty.

Her youth, her beauty, and sufferings, and the noble fortitude with which she bore them, touched the hearts of the Hungarians into, whose arms she threw herself and her little son; and though they had been always remarkable for their disaffection to the house of Austria, they declared unanimously in her favour. Her generals drove the French out of Bohemia; and George II. at the head of an English and Hanoverian army, gained the battle of Dettingen. Charles VII. was at this time miserable on the Imperial throne, and driven out of his electoral dominions, as had been his ancestor in queen Anne's reign, for siding with France, and would have given the queen of Hungary almost her own terms; but she haughtily and impolitically rejected all accommodation, though advised to it by his Britannic majesty, her best and indeed only friend. This obstinacy gave a colour for the king of Prussia to invade Bohemia, under pretence of supporting the Imperial dignity; but though he took Prague, and subdued the greatest part of the kingdom, he was not supported by the French; upon which he abandoned all his conquests, and retired to Silesia. This event confirmed the obstinacy of the queen of Hungary, who came to an accommodation with the emperor, that she might recover Silesia. Soon after, his Imperial majesty, died; and the duke of Lorraine, then grand-duke of Tuscany, consort to her Hungarian majesty, after surmounting some difficulties, was chosen emperor, by the title of Francis I. A. D. 1743.

The bad success of the allies against the French and Bavarians in the Low Countries, and the loss of the battle of Fontenoy, retarded the operations of the empress queen against his Prussian majesty. The latter beat the emperor's brother, Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had before driven the Prussians out of Bohemia; and the conduct of the empress-queen was such, that his Britannic majesty thought proper to guarantee to him the possession of Silesia, as ceded by treaty. Soon after, his Prussian majesty pretended that he had discovered a secret convention which had been entered into between the empress-queen, the empress of Russia, and the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, to strip him of his dominions; and to divide them among themselves. Upon this his Prussian majesty all of a sudden, drove the king of Poland out of Saxony, defeated his troops, and took possession of Dresden; which he held till a treaty was made under the mediation of his Britannic majesty, by which the king of Prussia acknowledged the duke of Lorraine, now be-

come grand-duke of Tuscany, for emperor. The war continued in the Low Countries, not only to the disadvantage, but to the discredit of the Austrians and Dutch, till it was finished by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. By A. D. 1756. that treaty, Silesia was once more guaranteed to the king of Prussia. It was not long before that monarch's jealousies were renewed and verified; and the empress of Russia's views falling in with those of the empress-queen, and the king of Poland, who were unnaturally supported by France in their new schemes, a fresh war was kindled in the empire. The king of Prussia A. D. 1756. declared against the admission of the Russians into Germany, and his Britannic majesty against that of the French. Upon these two principles all former differences between those monarchs were forgotten, and the British parliament agreed to pay an annual subsidy of 670,000l. to his Prussian majesty during the continuance of the war, the flames of which were now rekindled with more fury than ever.

His Prussian majesty once more broke into Saxony, defeated the Imperial general Brown at the battle of Lowositz, forced the Saxons to lay down their arms, though almost impreguably fortified at Pirna, and the elector of Saxony again fled to his regal dominions in Poland. After this his Prussian majesty was put to the ban of the empire; and the French poured by one quarter their armies, as the Russians did by another, into Germany. The conduct of his Prussian majesty on this occasion is the most amazing that is to be met with in history. He broke once more into Bohemia with inconceivable rapidity, and defeated an army of 100,000 Austrians, under general Brown, who was killed, as the brave marshal Schwerin was on the side of the Prussians. He then besieged Prague, and plied it with a most tremendous artillery; but just as he was beginning to imagine that his troops were invincible, they were defeated at Colin, by the Austrian general Daun, obliged to raise the siege, and to fall back upon Eisenach. The operations of the war now multiplied every day. The Imperialists, under count Daun, were formed into excellent troops; but they were beaten at the battle of Lissa, and the Prussians took Breslau, and obtained many other great advantages. The Russians after entering Germany, gave a new turn to the aspect of the war; and the cautious, yet enterprising genius of count Daun, laid his Prussian majesty under infinite difficulties, notwithstanding all his amazing victories. At first he defeated the Russians at Zorndorf; but an attack made upon his army in the night-time, by count Daun, at Hockkirchen,

kirchen, had almost proved fatal to his affairs, though he retrieved them with admirable presence of mind. He was obliged, however, to sacrifice Saxony, for the safety of Silesia; and it has been observed, that few periods of history afford such room for reflection as this campaign did; six sieges were raised almost at the same time; that of Colberg, by the Russians; that of Leipzig by the duke of Deux Ponts, who commanded the army of the empire; that of Dresden, by Daun; and those of Neiss, Casel, and Torgau, by the Austrians.

Brevity obliges me to omit many capital scenes which passed at the same time in Germany, between the French, who were driven out of Hanover, and the English or their allies. The operations on both sides are of little importance to history, because nothing was done that was decisive, though extremely burdensome and bloody to Great Britain. Great was the ingratitude of the empress-queen to his Britannic majesty, and his allies, who were now daily threatened with the ban of the empire. The Russians had taken possession of all the kingdoms of Prussia, and laid siege to Colberg, the only port of his Prussian majesty in the Baltic. Till then, he had entertained too mean an opinion of the Russians; but he soon found them by far the most formidable enemies he had, advancing under count Soltikoff, in a body of 100,000 men to Silesia. In this distress he acted with a courage and resolution that bordered upon despair; but was, at last, totally defeated by the Russians, with the loss of 20,000 of his best men, in a battle near Frankfort. He became now the tennis-ball of fortune. Succeeding defeats seemed to announce his ruin, and all avenues towards peace were shut up. He had lost, the great marshal Keith, and forty brave generals, be- A.D. 1756. sides those who were wounded and made prisoners. At Landshut the Imperial general, Laudohn, defeated his army under Fouquet on which he had great dependence, and thereby opened to the Austrians a ready gate into Silesia. None but his Prussian majesty would have thought of continuing the war under such repeated losses; but every defeat he received seemed to give him fresh spirits. It is not very easy to account for the inactivity of his enemies after his defeat near Frankfort, but by the jealousy which the Imperial generals entertained of their Russian allies. They had taken Berlin, and laid the inhabitants under pecuniary contributions; but towards the end of the campaign, he defeated the Imperialists in the battle of Torgau, in which count Daun was wounded. This was the best fought action the king of Prussia had ever been engaged in, but

it cost him 10,000 of his best troops, and was attended with no great consequences in his favour. New reinforcements which arrived every day from Russia, the taking of Colberg by the Russians, and of Schweidnitz by the Austrians, seemed almost to have completed his ruin, when his most formidable enemy, the empress of Russia, died. George

A. D. 1762. II. had died, in the year 1760.

The deaths of those illustrious personages were followed by great consequences. The British ministry of George III. were solicitous to put an end to the war, and the new emperor of Russia recalled his armies. His Prussian majesty was, notwithstanding, so very much reduced by his losses, that the empress-queen, probably, would have completed his destruction, had it not been for the wise backwardness of the other German princes, not to annihilate the house of Brandenburg. At first the empress-queen rejected all terms proposed to her, and ordered 30,000 men to be added to her armies. The visible backwardness of her generals to execute her orders, and the successes obtained by his Prussian majesty, at last prevailed upon her to agree to an armistice, which was soon followed by the treaty of

A. D. 1763. Hubertsberg, which again secured to his Prussian majesty the possession of Silesia.

Upon the death of the emperor, her husband, her son Joseph, who had some time before been crowned king of the Romans, succeeded him in the empire. His Imperial majesty, soon after his accession, discovered great talents for government, and for partitioning other countries. He joined in the dismemberment of Poland, with Russia and Prussia. He paid a visit incognito, and with moderate attendants, to Rome and the principal courts of Italy; and had a personal interview with his Prussian majesty, though this did not prevent hostilities from being commenced between Austria and Prussia, on account of the succession to the electorate of Bavaria. The Austrian claims on this occasion were very unjust, but in the support of them, while the contest continued, the emperor displayed great military skill. Though vast armies were brought into the field on both sides, no action happened of much importance, and an accommodation at length took place. After that event, the emperor was much better employed than in the operations of war. He made it his study to promote the happiness of his subjects, granted a most liberal religious toleration, suppressed most of the religious orders of both sexes, as utterly useless and even pernicious to society; and, by an edict, he abolished the remains of servitude and villanage, and fixed also the fees of the lawyers at a moderate amount,

A. D. 1783.

mount, granting them a pension in lieu. He also abolished the use of torture in his hereditary dominions, and reformed many of the grievances under which the peasants and common people laboured. He was a prince of a philosophic turn of mind, and mixed with his subjects with an ease and affability that are very uncommon in persons of his rank. He loved the conversation of ingenious men, and appeared solicitous to cultivate that extensive knowledge, which ennobles those who adorn the elevated station to which he had been raised.

Notwithstanding this, he was far from being fortunate. He pronounced his own satire in the epitaph which he wrote for himself. "Here lies Joseph II. unhappy in all his undertakings." Unhappy, because unsuccessful, and unsuccessful because his imagination outran his judgment. To render religion independent, science free, laws and legislation more perfect and vigorous, were great and laudable objects. But he failed in all. And the moment before his death, he endured every aggravation of misfortune. Brabant torn from him, Hungary bearing off in noisy triumph its crown from his palace, while he lay suffering the pangs of death; his family connection with Russia cut asunder, and the views of ambition closed by the death of the princess Elizabeth; his own death too, pronounced inevitable to him before he could view the success of his arms at Belgrade, and the single success of his life. Again, that success thrown into suspense, and rendered doubtful before his expiring eyes, by the terrible news of the danger and expected defeat of Coburg. Thus, did he drink the cup of bitterness to the very dregs. He died at Vienna, on the 20th of February, in the forth-ninth year of his age, in the twenty-sixth year of his A. D. 1790. reign, as emperor of the Romans; and the tenth as king of Hungary and Bohemia. He was succeeded by his brother Leopold Joseph, grand-duke of Tuscany, the present emperor.

With regard to *literature*, many of the Germans have greatly distinguished themselves in various branches of learning and science. In astronomy, Kepler deservedly obtained a great reputation; and Puffendorf, one of the first writers on the law of nature and nations, has also merit as an historian. Some of the English periodical writings, such as the Spectator, Tatler, and Guardian, being translated into the German language, excited great emulation among the writers of that country, and a number of periodical papers appeared, of various merit. One of the first and best was published at Hamburg, under the title of "The Patriot", in which Dr. Thomas, the late bishop of Salisbury, was concerned; he be-

ing at that time chaplain to the British factory at Hamburg, and a considerable master of the German language. The late professor Gellert, who is one of the most elegant of German authors, and one of the most esteemed, has greatly contributed to the improvement of their taste. His way of writing is particularly adapted to touch the heart, and to inspire sentiments of morality and piety. His fables and narrations, written in German verse, his letters, and his moral romances, are so much read in German, that even many of the ladies have them almost by heart. His comedies are also very popular; though they are rather too sentimental, and better adapted for the closet than for the stage. Gesner, whose *Idylls* and *Death of Abel* have been translated into the English language, is an ingenious and pleasing writer. It is an unfavourable circumstance, however, for German literature, that the French language should be so fashionable in the German courts instead of the German, and that so many of their princes should give it so decided a preference. Even the late king of Prussia ordered the *Philosophical Transactions* of his royal society at Berlin, from the beginning of its institution, to be published in the French tongue; by which some of the Germans think, that his majesty has cast a very undeserved reproach upon his native language.

With respect to the fine arts, Germany has produced some good painters, architects, sculptors and engravers. Printing, if first invented in Holland, was soon after greatly improved in Germany. The Germans are generally allowed to be the first inventors of great guns; as also of gunpowder in Europe, about the year 1320. Germany has likewise produced some excellent musicians; Handel, Bach, and Hesse, of whom Handel stands at the head; and it is acknowledged that he arrived at the sublime in music, though he had not the smallest idea between music and sentimental expression.

C H A P. LXXVII.

E N G L A N D.

Origin of the names, Albion and Britain—The Romans conquer Britain and introduce the luxuries of Italy—Inroads of the Scots and Picts—Saxon Heptarchy—Introduction of Christianity—Laws of the Saxons—Egbert—Invasion of the Danes—Alfred—His valour, learning, and amiable character—Singular law of Athelstan—Danegelt, or first land-tax—Battle of Hastings—Arts, manners, and customs of the Anglo-Saxons, Danes and Britons.

IT is generally agreed, that the first inhabitants of Britain were a tribe of the Gauls, or Celtæ, that settled on the opposite shore, a supposition founded upon the evident conformity of their language, manners, government, religion and complexion. Britain was little known before the invasion of Julius Cæsar, and its inhabitants were then remarkable only for their ferocity or barbarism. It received the name of Albion, from its white rocks; and Britain, from Britt, an old word, which at that time signified *painting the skin*, a practice to which the first people were much addicted.

Julius Cæsar conducted his army into this unknown country, which at that time was divided A. C. 51. into seven small states, governed by petty princes. The emperor Claudius conquered a great part of the island, and carried their chief prince Caractacus to Rome in triumph. In the reign of Nero the Britains rebelled; but at last they were entirely subdued by Julius Agricola.

During the abode of the Romans in Britain, they introduced into it all the luxuries of Italy; and it is certain, that under them the South Britons were reduced to a state of great vassalage, and that the genius of liberty retreated northwards, where the inhabitants made a brave resistance against these tyrants of the world *. For though the Britons were unquestionably very brave, when incorporated with the Roman legions abroad, yet we know of no struggle they made in later times, for their independency at home, notwithstanding the many favourable opportunities that presented themselves. The Roman emperors and generals, while in this island, assisted by the Britons, were entirely employed in repelling the attacks of the Scots and Picts, concerning whose origin many disputes have arisen †. The most probable opinion, however, seems to be, that they were two tribes of native Britains, who at different times had fled from the dominion of the Romans,

* Hume.

† Macpherson.

chusing liberty and barren mountains, rather than fertile plains and slavery.

Upon the mighty inundations of those barbarous nations, which under the names of Goths and Vandals, invaded the Roman empire with infinite numbers, and with danger to Rome itself, the Roman legions were withdrawn out of Britain, with the flower of the British youth, for the defence of the capital and centre of the empire. As the Roman forces decreased in Britain, the Scots and Picts, who had always opposed the progress of the Romans in this island, advanced more boldly into the southern parts, carrying terror and desolation over the whole country. The effeminate Britons were so accustomed to have recourse to the Romans for defence that they again and again implored the return of the Romans, who as often drove back the invaders to their mountains and ancient limits beyond the walls. But these enterprizes served only to protract the miseries of the Britons; and the Romans, now reduced to extremities at home, and fatigued with these distant expeditions, acquainted the Britons that they must no longer look to them for protection, and exhorted them to arm in their own defence; and that they might leave the island with a good grace, they assisted the Britons in rebuilding with stone the wall of Severus, between Newcastle and Carlisle, which they lined with forts and watch-towers; and having

done this good office, took their last farewell of
A. D. 448. Britain, after having been masters of the most fertile parts of it, if we reckon from the invasion of Julius Cæsar, near 500 years.

The Scots and the Picts finding the whole island finally deserted by the Roman legions, now regarded the whole as their prize, and attacked Severus's wall with redoubled forces, ravaged all before them with a fury peculiar to northern nations in those ages, and which a remembrance of former injuries could not fail to inspire. The poor Britains, like a helpless family deprived of their parent and protector, already subdued by their own fears, had again recourse to Rome, and sent over their miserable epistle for relief, which was addressed in these words: *To Aetius, thrice consul: The groans of the Britons;* and, after other lamentable complaints, said, *That the Barbarians drove them to the sea, and the sea back to the Barbarians; and they had only the hard choice left of perishing by the sword or by the waves* *. But having no hopes given them by the Roman general of any succours from that side, they began to consider what other nation they might call over to their relief. Gildas, who was himself a Briton, describes the degeneracy of his countrymen at this time in mournful strains, and gives

*. Bede.

some confused hints of their officers, and the names of some of their kings, particularly one Vortigern, chief of the Danmonii, by whose advice the Britons struck a bargain with two Saxon chiefs, Hengist and Horsa, to protect them from the Scots and Picts. The isle of Thanet, a secure and fertile district, was allotted for the residence of those German auxiliaries, and they were supplied, according to the treaty, with an allowance of cloathing and provisions. Having repulsed the Scots and Picts, the perfidious Hengist, being joined by successive colonies of his own countrymen turned his arms against the Britons, and perpetrated a treacherous massacre during the security of a feast. After a long and violent contest, the Saxons extirpated or enslaved those whom they had engaged to protect. Different parts of the island being subdued by different chieftains, or leaders, seven independent thrones, the Saxon heptarchy, were founded by the conquerors, and seven families (one of which has been continued, by female succession, to our present sovereign) derived their equal and sacred lineage from Woden, their God of War.

The Saxon heptarchy comprehended the kingdoms of Kent, Northumberland, East-Anglia, Mercia, Essex, Sussex, and Wessex; which last ultimately subdued and united the whole heptarchy. Egbert, king of Wessex, having acquired the art of war and government, at the court of Charlemagne, united these seven independent A. D. 827. kingdoms, and thus laid the foundation of the kingdom of England.

About this period Pope Gregory undertook to send missionaries among the Saxons to convert them to christianity. It is said, that before his elevation to the papal chair, he chanced one day to pass through the slave-market at Rome, and perceiving some children of great beauty who were set up for sale, he enquired about their country, and finding they were English Pagans, he is said to have cried out in the Latin language, *Non Angli, sed Angeli, forent, si essent Christiani*; They would not be English but Angels, had they been Christians. From that time he was struck with an ardent desire to convert that unenlightened nation, and ordered a monk, named Austin, and others of the same fraternity, to undertake the mission into Britain.

This pious monk, upon his first landing in the isle of Thanet, sent one of his interpreters to Ethelbert, the Kentish king, declaring he was come from Rome with offers of eternal salvation. The king immediately ordered them to be furnished with all necessaries, and even visited them, though without declaring himself as yet in their favour. Austin, however, encouraged by this favourable reception, and now seeing a prospect of success, proceeded with redoubled zeal to preach

preach the gospel. The king openly espoused the Christian religion, while his example wrought so successfully on his subjects, that numbers of them came voluntarily to be baptized, their missionary loudly declaring against any coercive means towards their conversion. In this manner the other kingdoms, one after the other, embraced the faith, and England was soon as famous for its attachment to christianity, as it had been formerly averse to it. Austin is accounted the first archbishop of Canterbury.

The Anglo-Saxons, during their heptarchy, were governed by priests and monks, who, as they saw it convenient, persuaded their kings either to shut themselves up in cloisters, or to undertake pilgrimages to Rome, where they finished their days. The bounty of those kings to the see of Rome was therefore unlimited; and Ethelwald, king of Mercia imposed an annual tax of a penny upon every house, which was afterwards known by the name of *Peter's pence*, because paid on the holiday of St. Peter *ad Vincula*, being the first of August. This tax was imposed at first for the support of a college at Rome, for the education of English youth, founded by Ina king of Wessex, under the name of *Rome-Scot*; but in process of time the popes claimed it as a tribute due to St. Peter and his successors.

The criminal laws of the Anglo-Saxons were uncommonly mild; a compensation in money being sufficient for murder of any species, and for the life of persons of any rank, not excepting the king and the archbishop, whose head, by the laws of Kent, was estimated higher than the king's. The price of all kinds of wounds was also settled: and he who was caught in adultery with his neighbour's wife, was ordered by the laws of Ethelbert to pay him a fine, and buy him another wife; a proof, though somewhat equivocal, of the estimation in which women were then held. The punishments for robbery were various, but none of them capital *.

But if the punishments for crimes among the Anglo-Saxons were singular, their proofs were no less so. When any controversy about a fact was too intricate for the ignorant judges to unravel, they had recourse to what they called the judgment of God; or, in other words, to chance. Their modes of consulting that blind divinity were various, but the most common was the ordeal. This method of trial was practised either by boiling water or red-hot iron. The water, or iron, was consecrated by many prayers, masses, fastings, and exorcisms, after which the person accused either took up, with his naked hand, a stone sunk in the water to a certain depth, or

carried the iron to a certain distance. The hand was immediately wrapped up, and the covering sealed for three days; and if, on examining it, there appeared no marks of burning or scalding, the person accused was pronounced innocent: if otherwise he was declared guilty *. The same kinds of proof, or others equally extravagant, obtained among all the nations on the continent; and money, in like manner, was every where the atonement for guilt, both in a civil and ecclesiastical sense.

During the heptarchy, the venerable Bede composed his church-history of Britain, from the coming in of the Saxons, down to the year 731. The Saxon Chronicle is one of the oldest and most authentic monuments of history that any nation can produce. Architecture, such as it was, with stone and glass-working, was now introduced into England; and we read of a Northumbrian prelate, who was served in silver-plate.

Egbert, having united the Saxon Heptarchy in his own person, changed the name of his kingdom into that of Engle-land, or England. His prosperity excited the envy of the northern nations, who, under the name of Danes, then infested the seas, and from time to time ravaged the English coast, but were as often totally defeated!

Egbert left his kingdom to his son Ethelwolf, a prince better fitted to wear the cowl than the A. D. 833. crown, during whose feeble reign the Danes returned, and continued their depredations unmolested.

Alfred, his youngest son succeeded to the throne, in consequence of the death of his elder brothers. He was one of the greatest princes, both in peace and war, mentioned in history. He fought seven battles with the Danes with various success, and when defeated, he found resources that rendered him as terrible as before. He was, however, at one time reduced to an uncommon state of distress, being forced to live as a servant to a grazier †. But the human mind is as little suited to employments beneath, as above its capacity: the great Alfred made but a bad cow-herd. His guardian genius was occupied about higher cares; and he still kept up a secret correspondence with his brave friends, whom he collected together, and, by their assistance, gave the Danes many signal overthrows, till at last he recovered the kingdom of England, and obliged the Danes who had been settled in it, to swear obedience to his government.

Alfred, having been educated at Rome, was not only a scholar, but an author; and he tells us himself, that upon his

* Spelman,

† Saxon Chronicle.

accession

accession to the throne, he had scarcely a lay subject who could read English, or an ecclesiastic who understood Latin. He rebuilt the city of London, which had been burnt down

by the Danes, founded the university of Oxford, and was the patron of learned men. His encouragement of commerce and navigation may seem incredible to modern times. He had merchants who traded in East-India jewels; and a celebrated writer says*, that some of their gems were deposited in the church of Sherbone in his time. He was inexorable against his corrupt judges, whom he used to hang up in the public high-ways, as a terror to evil doers†. He died at the commencement of the tenth century; and his character is so completely amiable and heroic, that he is justly dignified with the epithet of the Great.

On the death of Alfred, England relapsed into barbarism; and though his son Edward the elder was a brave prince, yet the Danes renewed their invasions. His successor, Athelstan, was such an encourager of commerce as to make a law, that every merchant who made three voyages on his own account to the Mediterranean, should be put upon a footing with a *Thane*, or nobleman of the first rank‡.

During the weak administration of succeeding princes, the Danes by degrees became possessed of the finest part of the country. Ethelred endeavoured meanly to compound with them for his safety, by agreeing to pay them 30,000 l. which was levied by way of tax§, and was the first land-tax in England. He afterwards, with a cruelty incident to weak minds, formed the design of massacring the Danes, in the kingdom, which he partly carried into execution. Sweyn king of Denmark took vengeance on the English for the slaughter of his countrymen, and compelled Ethelred to seek refuge in the court of his brother-in-law, Richard duke of Normandy.

His son, Edmond Ironside, after having bravely struggled for the independence of his kingdom, was at last betrayed by his general, Edric; and obliged to divide his dominions with Canute, son of the Danish king, Sweyn. Edmond survived this division only a month, being murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, whose treachery made way for the accession of Canute the Dane, to the throne of England. This prince, by the conquest of Norway became the most powerful monarch of his time; being sovereign of Denmark, Norway, and England.

* William of Malmesbury.

† Dr. Henry.

‡ Macpherson.

§ This tax was called *Danegelt*

Of Harold Harefoot, and Hardicanute, his sons and successors, nothing is recorded that merits your attention; only that on the death of Hardicanute, the English shook off the Danish yoke, and placed on the throne of his ancestors, Edward surnamed the confessor, son of the unfortunate Ethelred. Though an excellent prince, he disgusted the English by his partiality to the Normans, among whom he had been educated; and he declared William duke of Normandy, his cousin, to be his successor. The reign of Edward is remarkable for an expedition, against Macbeth, who murdered Duncan, king of Scotland, and usurped his throne*.

On the death of Edward, Harold, the son of earl Godwin, took possession of the vacant throne; but his right was disputed by the duke of Normandy, and these two rivals prepared to determine the matter by the sword. With respect to William, the enterprise was bold and hazardous. The English were a formidable nation, with a courageous and ambitious prince at their head. The fate of war is uncertain. These obstacles so far from intimidating, did but the more invigorate William's courage. Crowds of adventurers flock to his standard, and he soon has an army composed of chosen warriors, ready to conquer or to die. Every thing was favourable to William. The spirit of chivalry, which braved every danger, was then at its height in Europe. The Normans had every where been successful. Alexander II. who then filled the pontifical chair, declared Harold an usurper, excommunicated him, and his adherents, and, to encourage William, sent him a consecrated banner, with a ring adorned with some of St. Peter's hair. Thus an enterprise, concerted with ambitious views, and the execution of which must be attended with injustice and violence, was covered with the great cloak of religion†.

William set sail from Valery with a numerous fleet, and, an army of 60,000 chosen warriors landed upon the coast of Suffex, and soon after came to a decisive battle, at a place called Hastings in that county. The A. D. 1066. fight continued from morning to sunset; and Harold, after performing prodigies of valour, was slain with two of his brothers, and left to the more fortunate William the victory and the crown. Thus ended the Saxon monarchy in England, which had continued for more than six hundred years.

The Saxons were well skilled in the art of painting on glass, some monuments of which remain. The famous St. Dunstan, was esteemed an excellent painter by his contemporaries, and employed his pencil in religious subjects.

* Shakespear.

† Hume.

All nations, even in their rudest state, have discovered a strong propensity to sublime strains of poetry. Of all the arts, poetry was the most admired and cultivated by the inhabitants of this island; hence the beautiful relics of ancient song. In those rude times, every great man had his bard, who drew up the annals of his family in verse, and sung them, in order to impress them on the memory, and hand them down to posterity. Alfred, who was himself a poet, and made verses on purpose to civilize his subjects, encouraged and rewarded men of poetical genius. Princes in that age were delighted to hear the verses of their bards, to read their works, and commit them to memory. The poems of the northern bards produced the most surprising effects on those that heard them. The turbulent passions were roused or soothed, according to the nature of their strains. The power of music acting upon the passions, is better felt than described.

The ancient Britons, Anglo Saxons, Scots, Irish, and other northern nations, were fond of, and cultivated the musical art. In those days every one who courted esteem, was at pains to be acquainted with vocal and instrumental music. To be ignorant of this art was held disgraceful. The favourite musical instrument of our ancestors, and of all the nations of Europe, was the harp. By the laws of Wales, the harp was one of three things necessary to constitute a gentleman; and none but gentlemen were allowed to play on it. The king had his harper. They had other musical instruments, particularly the small pipe and bagpipe, the flute and tabor. The power of music is amazingly great. A king of Norway and his courtiers were, by the martial strains of a harper, roused into such frantic rage, that, had they not been prevented, they would have fallen by mutual wounds*.

"The origin of drinking healths, is placed in the time of the Anglo-Saxons. The old health, by historians reported to have been drank by Rowena, daughter or niece of Hengist, to Vortigern, king of the Britons, was after this fashion. She came into the room, where the king and the guests were sitting, and making a low obedience to him, she said, 'Be of good health, lord king;' then having drank, she presented it on her knees to the king, who, being told the meaning of what she said, and the custom, took the cup, saying, 'I drink your health,' and drank also.

"Drunkennes was brought into Britain by the Danes, who were such immoderate drinkers in the reign of Edgar; and so much did their bad example prevail with the English, that he, by the advice of Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury,

* Dr. Henry.

“ put down many ale-houses, suffering only one to be in a village, or small town. And, he also farther ordained, that pins or nails should be fastened in drinking cups or horns, at stated distances, and that whoever should drink beyond these marks at one draught, should be obnoxious to severe punishment.

“ The heroism of the Danes was sullied with vanity, and their dissipations were inactive. The Danish kings, and heroes always carried a poet with them to battle, to immortalize their prowess; and they filled up their leisure hours with chess, dice, and backgammon. The last game was invented about this period in Wales, and derives its name from back, little, and cammon, battle.

“ As the English are compounded of different nations, so manly fortitude and valour are truly British; the Saxons budded upon the original stock, the gentler virtues; and the Danes ingrafted cruelty, intemperance, and all the boisterous passions which agitate the most violent tempers; so that the natives of this country derive intrepidity from the Britons, politeness from the Saxons, and barbarity from the Danes *.”

In those days, an acre of land was estimated at one shilling, a horse at two shillings, an ox at six shillings, a cow at four shillings, and a sheep at one shilling †.

Liberty was well understood and guarded by the Saxon institutions; and we owe to them at this day the most valuable privileges of the English subjects.

C H A P. LXXVIII.

William the Conqueror—Doomsday-Books—Origin of the Wars between England and France—Murder of Becket—Henry II. submits to be scourged by Monks—Church plate melted down to pay Richard's ransom.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Hastings, William marched to London with the pope's banner displayed; the principal inhabitants met him at the gates, and offered him a crown which they could not keep from him. Crowned at Westminster, in the presence of many of the English and Norman nobility, William reduced the rest of the kingdom to

* Strutt.

† Fleetwood.

his obedience. He confirmed the privileges of London, and other cities, shewed great affability to his new subjects, and appeared to have nothing more at heart, than that the English and Normans should become one people. In a word, he conducted himself, not as a conqueror, but as the nation's rightful sovereign. Those beginnings were but short-lived, and the English found, that, in William, they had gotten a master and a tyrant. A revolt, whilst absent in Normandy, furnished him with a pretext for exercising his tyrannical disposition. The English were spoiled of their property, and made the slaves of a despot. The Saxon laws were abolished, and those of Normandy substituted in their place. All pleadings were commanded to be in the Norman tongue; for William would have no other language spoken in England, but that of the conqueror; and to this is owing that predominating mixture of French at present to be found in our language.

He caused a general survey to be made, and an account to be taken of the villains, or servile tenants, slaves, and live stock upon each estate; all which were recorded in a book called *Doomsday-book*, which is now kept in the Exchequer.

His son Robert, who had been appointed governor of Normandy, assumed the government as sovereign of that province, in which he was favoured by the king of France. This gave rise to the wars between England and France, which have continued longer, drawn more noble blood, and been attended with more memorable achievements, than any other national quarrel we read of in ancient or modern history.

William, after a reign of twenty-one years, A. D. 1087. died while besieging Mantz. The spirit of this monarch, says an elegant historian*, was bold and enterprising, yet guided by prudence; and his exorbitant ambition, which lay little under the restraints of justice, and still less under those of humanity, ever submitted to the dictates of reason and sound policy. Though not insensible to generosity, he was hardened against compassion; and he seemed equally ostentatious, and ambitious of eclat, in his clemency and in his vengeance.

William was succeeded in the duchy of Normandy by his eldest son Robert, and in the kingdom of England by his second son William, sur-named Rufus, whose violent and tyrannical reign continued forty years. He built Westminster-hall as it now stands, and added several works to the Tower, which he surrounded with a wall and a ditch.

On his death, Henry I. surnamed Beauclerc, on account of his learning, usurped the throne, which was the inheritance

* Hume.

of his elder brother, Robert of Normandy. This prince governed with severity. His domestic misfortunes were very great. His only son William, who had attained his eighteenth year, had accompanied him in an expedition into Normandy, but perished on his return, with all his retinue. The royal youth was anxious to get first to land; and the captain of the vessel, being intoxicated with liquor, heedlessly ran her on a rock, where she was immediately dashed to pieces. The king was so much affected by the news, that he is said never to have smiled more. His daughter Matilda married Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of the count of Anjou. Henry dying of a surfeit in the 78th year of his age, destined the succession of the kingdom to his daughter; but his nephew Stephen usurped the throne. The despotism of the king, the licentiousness of the nobles, and the oppression of the people, invited and encouraged the earl of Gloucester, and David king of Scotland, to take up arms in A. D. 1138. support of Matilda's right. A long and bloody war ensued, which, after various successes, terminated in the succession being secured to Henry of Anjou, Matilda's son.

On the death of the usurper, Henry II. surnamed Plantagenet was invested with the supreme power. He was the greatest prince of his time. He began his reign with re-establishing justice and good order, to which the English world had been long a stranger. He attempted next to reform the abuses of the church, but was opposed in all his measures by Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. The Roman Pontiff and the king of France, espoused the cause of this haughty prelate. Henry, dreading the sentence of the communication, submitted with reluctance, and was heard to say, in the anguish of his heart, "Is there none who will revenge his monarch's cause upon this audacious priest?" These words reached the ears of four knights, who, without acquainting Henry of their intentions, went over to England, where they beat out Becket's brains, before the altar of his own church at Canterbury. The murdered prelate was canonized. A. D. 1188.

Henry was in no condition to second the blind obedience of his knights; and the public resentment rose so high, on the supposition that he was privy to the murder, that he submitted to be scourged by Monks at the tomb of the pretended martyr. Having thus soothed the pope, the king undertook the conquest of Ireland; an enterprize which he had long meditated, but which had been deferred by reason of his quarrels with the primate. This expedition proved successful. Though victorious in all quarters, and crowned with glory, this best and most indulgent of parents was obliged to maintain war against

418 *John lays his crown at the foot of the Pope's Legate.*

his own family. His sons rebelled, and were supported by the kings of France and Scotland. This barbarous behaviour preyed upon his spirits, and soon put a period to his life.

Richard I. surnamed Cœur de Lion, from his great courage, succeeded his father. This romantic prince embarked in the crusades. After several glorious, but fruitless campaigns, he made a truce of three years with Saladin emperor of the Saracens; and in his return to England he was treacherously surprised by the duke of Austria, who, sent him a prisoner to the emperor Henry VI. His ransom was fixed by the sordid emperor so high *, that the raising of it proved to be a matter of greater difficulty. All the church plate was melted down, and a tax was laid on all persons, both ecclesiastical and secular, of a fourth part of their annual income †. Richard, upon his return, declared war against France, in which he was killed, in the 42nd year of his age, and the 10th of his reign.

C H A P. LXXIX.

John lays his crown and regalia at the foot of the Pope's legate—Magna Charta granted—John's treatment of a Jew—Coronation-dinner of Edward I.—Cruel death of Edward II.—Institution of the Order of the Garter by Edward III.—Henry V.—Battle of Agincourt—Origin of the House of Tudor.

RICHARD leaving no issue, was succeeded by his brother John, whose reign is infamous in English history. He lost his continental dominions; and soon after embroiled himself with the see of Rome, concerning the election of an archbishop of Canterbury. The kingdom was laid under the sentence of an interdict, and John was excommunicated and deposed. Dreading a French invasion, he rendered himself a tributary to the pope, and laid his crown and regalia at the foot of the legate Pandulph, who kept them for five days. By this despicable submission to the Roman pontiff, by which he became still more contemptible, he was restored. The English barons, taking advantage of the king's meanness and de-

* £300,000.

† Rymer.

basement, had recourse to arms, and extorted from him *Magna Charta*, or the Great Charter, A. D. 1215, which was signed at Runnymede, between Windsor and Stains, a spot ever since deservedly celebrated, and even hallowed by every zealous lover of liberty.

The most valuable stipulation in this charter, and the grand security of the lives, liberties, and properties of Englishmen, was the following concession. "No freeman shall be apprehended or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or banished, or any other way destroyed; nor will we go upon him, nor will we send upon him, except by the *legal judgment of his peers*, or by the *law of the land*.*" The stipulation next in importance seems to be the singular concession, "That to no man will we *sell*, to no man will we *delay right*, and *justice*." These concessions shew, in a very strong light, the violences and iniquitous practices of the Anglo-Norman princes.

Though this charter be deemed the foundation of English liberty, yet, it is only, in great measure, a renewal of those immunities which the barons and their followers had possessed under the Saxon princes, and which they claimed by the charters of Henry I. and Henry II. As the principles of liberty, however, came to be more enlarged, and property to be better secured, this charter, by various subsequent acts and explanations, came to be applicable to every English subject, as well as to the barons, knights, and burgeses. John had scarcely signed it, but he retracted, and called upon the pope for protection, when the barons withdrew their allegiance from John, and transferred it to Lewis, the eldest son of Philip Augustus, king of France. This gave umbrage to the pope; and the barons, being apprehensive of their country becoming a province of France, returned to John's allegiance; but he was unable to protect them, till the pope refused to confirm the title of Lewis. John died in the A. D. 1216. 18th year of his reign, and the 49th of his age, just as he had a glimpse of resuming his authority. The city of London owes some of her privileges to John. The office of mayor, before his reign was for life; but he gave them a charter to choose a mayor out of their own body, annually, and to elect their sheriffs and common council annually, as at present †.

The principal barons agreed to acknowledge the authority of his son Henry III. who was a weak prince, and obliged Lewis to evacuate the kingdom. To this reign we are in-

* *Magna Charta*, Art. xxxii.

† Guthrie.

debted for the first outlines of the British house of Commons. A parliament was held at Oxford, and returns ordered to be made, not only of two knights from every shire, but also of deputies from the boroughs*. A second order of men was then introduced into the national council. The earl of Leicester rebelled; but at the battle of Eversham, was defeated and killed. Henry died in the 56th year of his reign, the longest in the British annals, but one continued scene of disorder and anarchy. To these struggles, however, we, in great measure, owe the liberties of the present day.

Interest, during this period, amounted to an enormous height, as might be expected from the barbarism of the times, and men's ignorance of commerce. There are instances of 50l. per cent. being paid for money, which tempted the Jews to remain in England, notwithstanding the grievous oppressions they laboured under, from the bigotry of the age and Henry's extortions. King John, his father, once demanded 10,000 marks from a Jew at Bristol; and on his refusal, ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every day, till he should consent. The Jew lost seven teeth, and then paid the sum required of him †.

Edward I. surnamed Longshanks, Henry's son, remarkable for the intrepidity of his character, succeeded. He invited all, who held of his crown *in capite*, to his coronation dinner, which consisted of 278 bacon hogs, 450 hogs, 440 oxen, 430 sheep, 22,600 hens and capons, and 13 fat goats ‡. From this we may form some idea of the luxury of the times. Alexander III, king of Scotland was at the solemnity, and on the occasion 500 horses were let loose, to be the property of such as could catch them.

Edward confirmed Magna Charta, and attacked the Welch, who unconquered by the Saxons, had preserved their independence. He obliged their prince Lewellyn, after a desperate resistance, to submit, and united Wales to

A. D. 1282. the crown of England, the principality of the king's eldest son. By a barbarous policy, he ordered all the Welch bards to be collected together and put to death. Edward afterwards meditated the sub-

A. D. 1307. jection of Scotland; but expired at Carlisle, in advancing to complete the conquest.

The feeble and indolent Edward II. though enjoined by his father, with his last breath, to prosecute the war, and never to desist till he had finally subdued the kingdom of Scotland,

* Rymer.

† Dr. Henry.

‡ Rymer.

after

after a few weak efforts, relinquished the project. He disgusted the nation by his attachment to mean favourites. His queen, Isabella, entered into a conspiracy against him, with one Roger Mortimer, her gallant, and other dissatisfied barons, who accused the king of incapacity for government, deposed and inhumanly murdered him in prison, by holding him down violently with a table, which they threw upon him, and thrusting into his fundament a horn, through which they burnt his bowels with a red-hot iron *. Thus perished the unfortunate Edward II. a prince born to obey ministers, not to govern a kingdom.

Edward III. had spirit and abilities sufficient to avenge the death of his father. His mother's paramour, Mortimer, was seized by his order and perished by the hand of the hangman. This youthful and ambitious monarch claimed the kingdom of France, in right of his mother, the daughter of Philip the fair. A war with France ensued, A. D. 1338. the event of which was prosperous. His heroic son called the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour, won the battle of Cressy. They were again defeated in the battle of Poitiers, and John, the French king, taken prisoner and brought to London. These splendid successes were of no real advantage to England. In the conclusion of Edward's life, his fortunes declined. An extravagant attachment to Alice Pierce, a young lady of wit and beauty, gave such general disgust as to become the object of a parliamentary remonstrance. The king did not long survive the death of his amiable son, the prince of Wales. He expired in the 50th year of his reign; one of the longest, and though the latter days were indeed somewhat obscured by the infirmities and follies of age, yet it certainly was one of the most glorious in the English annals.

To this prince we owe the institution of the military order of the garter, in emulation of A. D. 1350. some orders of knighthood, of a like nature, which had been established in different parts of Europe. A story prevails, though not supported by ancient authority, that Edward's mistress, commonly supposed to be the countess of Salisbury, dropped her garter at a court ball; that the king stooped and took it up; when observing some of his courtiers to smile, as if they had suspected another intention, he held up the trophy, and called out, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*: "Evil to him that evil thinks!" And as every incident of gallantry in those times was magnified into a matter of importance, he instituted the order of the garter. In com-

* Walsingham.

moration of this event, though not without political views, and gave these words as the motto of the order. Frivolous as such an origin may seem, it is perfectly suitable to the manners of that age, and, as a profound historian remarks, it is difficult by any other means to account either for the seemingly unmeaning terms of the motto, or the peculiar badge of the garter, which appears to have no reference to any purpose either of military use or ornaments*.

His successor Richard II. son of the black prince, was little able to recover what had been lost through the dotage of his grandfather. A poll-tax of three groats a-head, on every person male and female, above fifteen years of age, excited a most formidable insurrection headed by Wat Tyler, which was quelled by the prudence and courage of Richard. His spirited behaviour at this juncture, raised the highest expectations concerning him. But the presages of youth are often fallacious! He was a slave to unworthy favourites. Having confiscated the estate of his uncle, Henry duke of Lancaster, he rebelled, deposed, and murdered the king †. Thus began the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster.

The duke of Lancaster ascended the English A. D. 1399. throne under the name of Henry IV. and was the son of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III. In his turbulent reign we find little worth notice, except the act for burning the followers of Wickliffe, a secular priest, educated at Oxford, who, during the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. had preached the doctrine of reformation.

Henry V. his son began his reign with applause. He had passed his youth in the riot of pleasure, debauchery, and extravagancies of every kind; but on his coming to the throne, the cloud which his wild conduct had thrown over his character, vanished, and it appeared brighter than if it had never been shaded by any errors. The first step of the young king was to suppress all party dissensions: then, taking advantage of the civil disorders of France, he determined to prosecute the English claim to the crown of that kingdom.

A. D. 1415. He collected a considerable force, and gained the glorious victory of Agincourt. He pursued his success, and having recruited his forces and finances, marched to the gates of Paris. A treaty of peace followed, in which Henry was nominated regent, and acknowledged heir to the crown; and marrying Catherine, the daughter of the French king, Charles VI. received the kingdom of France as her dowry. The glory of Henry, now at the height, was sud-

* Hume.

† Wallingham.

denly restrained by the hand of nature. He was seized with a malady, which the surgeons of that age wanted skill to treat with judgment, namely a fistula, which put a period to his life, in the tenth year of his reign.

Catherine of France, his widow, married soon after his death sir Owen Tudor, a gentleman of Wales, said to be descended from the ancient princes of that country. She bore him two sons; the eldest of whom was created earl of Richmond, the second earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, first raised to distinction by this alliance, afterwards mounted the throne of England in the person of Henry VII.

C H A P. LXXX.

*Houses of York and Lancaster—The two Roses—Edward IV.
William Caxton—Advantages of Printing—Richard III.
causes his nephews to be murdered.*

HENRY VI. was only nine months old when he was proclaimed king of England and of France. He was a weak and contemptible prince. The French monarch, Charles VII. gradually recovered his kingdom. Joan of Arc, called the maid of Orleans, a phenomenon hardly to be paralleled in history, compelled the English to raise the siege of Orleans, and established Charles on his throne. She must have possessed an amazing fund of sagacity as well as valour; though she was of the lowest extraction, and bred a cow-keeper, and sometimes a helper at stables in public inns.

England was now rent to pieces by intestine commotions. The incapacity of the king appeared every day in a stronger light. Richard, duke of York, descended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III. aspired to the throne. Hostilities commenced; and after various success, the duke perished in the battle of Wakefield. Edward his son prepared A. D. 1460. to revenge his father's death. A bloody war succeeded, which terminated in the imprisonment of the unfortunate Henry, and the promotion of Edward duke of York to the throne.

The animosity between the two contending families became implacable; and the nation, divided in its affections, took different symbols of party. The adherents of the house of Lancaster chose, as their mark of distinction, the *red rose*; those

of York assumed the *white*. These civil wars were known over Europe, by the name of the quarrel between the *two roses*.

Edward IV. having made his way to the throne through a scene of war, havoc, and devastation, endeavoured to establish himself by acts of tyranny and cruelty. Crowned king by the hands of Guy earl of Warwick, Edward was ungrateful to his champion and benefactor. The earl, resenting his ungenerous conduct, rebelled, deposed the king, and replaced Henry on the English throne. Edward fled to Holland. This revolution was of a short duration. The young king soon returned, and gaining the victory of Barnett, in which Warwick was killed, recovered his kingdom. From this time he sunk into indolence and pleasure. A violent distemper,

A. D. 1483. occasioned by his irregularities, terminated his life, at the age of 42.

The invention of printing, which is generally supposed to have been imported into England by William Caxton, and which received some countenance from Edward, is the chief glory of his reign. This invention appeared to the world so extraordinary, that those who first exhibited specimens, were thought to have done it by the power of magic. The vulgar always ignorant, and who judge by what they see, consider a person who has shewn ingenuity in any surprising invention or discovery, as having more art than his own.

The art of printing is one of the greatest blessings heaven has bestowed upon mankind. The liberty of the press is, to a free nation, the palladium of her liberties. By means of printing, every branch of useful knowledge is conveyed to the public; and we can procure, at a small expence, by the same means, proper information on any subject, for the right improvement and conduct of life. More especially, the invention of printing has, by means of the scriptures printed in the vulgar tongue, diffused among Christians the knowledge of true religion, unadulterated by the comments and traditions of fallible men. It is said, that printing may equally serve as the vehicle of truth, or of error. True, this is an inconvenience, but an inconvenience greatly over-balanced by the many advantages resulting from it. Ignorance multiplies errors, whereas knowledge is the way to know and confute them. If with the assistance of books we attain knowledge but by slow degrees; without these helps we would still have been unable to distinguish truth from error. The best things may be abused, may are often abused, but this is no conclusive argument against their usefulness. Since the invention of printing, the principles of philosophy, of morals, and religion have been communicated to the world, a very great advantage to the

the cause of humanity, and to the progress of true learning and science.

The books printed by Caxton are mostly re-translations, or compilations from the French or Monkish Latin; but it must be acknowledged, at the same time, that literature, after this period, made a more rapid and general progress among the English than it did in any other European nation. The famous Littleton, judge of the common pleas, and Fortescue, chancellor of England, flourished at this period.

Edward V. was only thirteen years of age, when he succeeded his father in the kingdom. This young prince, and his brother, the duke of York, were privately assassinated by their uncle, Richard, duke of Gloucester, who usurped the throne. Sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, refusing to have any hand in the murder of the innocent youths, the usurper gave the government of the Tower to sir James Tyrrell, for one night. He chose three associates, whom he employed to execute his barbarous commission, and conducted them, about midnight, to the door of the chamber, where the princes were lodged. They were in bed, and fallen into a profound sleep. The ruffians suffocated them with bolsters and pillows, and afterwards shewed their naked bodies to Tyrrell, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the staircase under a heap of stones*.

Attempts have been made to invalidate the particulars of this relation, and even to bring into question the fact it leads to establish†. "But the singular magnanimity, probity, and judgment of Sir Thomas More," says an excellent historian, "make his narrative an evidence beyond all exception. He may justly be esteemed a cotemporary with regard to the murder of the two princes; for though he was but five years of age when that event happened, he lived and was educated among the persons concerned in the principal transactions during the administration of Richard III. This authority, therefore, is irresistible; and sufficient to *overbalance* an hundred little doubts, and scruples, and objections‡."

All cotemporary writers, both English and foreign, charge Richard, directly or indirectly, with the murder of his nephews. "As soon as Richard accepted the sovereignty," says one, "Edward V. and his brother the duke of York, were *put under surer keeping* in the Tower, in such wise that they *never after came abroad*§." Another openly accuses him of it, and supports his accusation with very strong

* Sir Thomas More. † Walpole's Historic. Doubts.

‡ Fabian.

§ Hume.

circum-

circumstances. The court of France, he tells us, was so much struck with horror at Richard's treason and usurpation, that the English ambassador was refused an audience*.

The multiplied crimes, and atrocious vices of this usurper and murderer filled the kingdom with so much horror that a conspiracy was formed in favour of the young earl of Richmond †, who by his mother was descended from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III. and was the only remaining branch of the Lancastrian family. Richmond encountered the tyrant at Bosworth, and obtained a complete victory. Richard, after displaying most astonishing acts of personal valour, was killed, having been first abandoned by a main division of his army, under lord Stanley and his brother.

Richard founded the society of heralds; an institution, which, in his time, was found necessary to prevent disputes among great families. He was the first English king who appointed a consul for the superintendency of English commerce abroad; one Strözzi being nominated for Pisa, with an income of the fourth part of one per cent. on all goods of Englishmen imported to, or exported from thence.

C H A P. LXXXI.

Henry VII.—Yeomen appointed—Star Chamber—Perkin Warbeck—Henry VIII. writes against Luther—Wolsey—Henry shakes off the authority of the see of Rome, and declares himself head of the National Church.

HENRY of Lancaster, earl of Richmond, having married the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter to Edward IV. put an end to the long and bloody wars between the contending houses of York and Lancaster. Henry VII. however, rested his right upon conquest, and seemed to pay little regard to the advantages of his marriage. His administration was wise and politic. Of his power, however, he was jealous to a fault; for he shut up the earl of Warwick, son to the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. a close prisoner in the Tower, though he was but a boy, and though nothing was alleged against him but his propinquity to the house of York. He was the first who instituted that guard called *Yeomen*, which still subsists, and, in imitation of his predecessor he

* Cepines. † Grandson of sir Owen Tudor and Catherine of France.

gave an irrecoverable blow to the dangerous privileges assumed by the barons, in abolishing liveries and retainers, by which every malefactor could shelter himself, from the law, on assuming a nobleman's livery, and attending his person. Some rebellions happened in the beginning of his reign, but they were easily suppressed; as was the imposture of Lambert Simnel, who pretended to be the imprisoned earl of Warwick. Simnel was taken prisoner, and after being employed in the king's kitchen, was made one of his falconers.

The despotic court of Star-chamber owed its original to Henry; but at the same time, it must be acknowledged, that he passed many acts, especially for trade and navigation, that were highly for the benefit of his subjects. They expressed their gratitude by the great supplies and benevolence they afforded him; and, as a finishing stroke to the feudal tenures, an act passed by which the barons and gentlemen of landed interests were at liberty to sell and mortgage their lands without fines or licences for the alienation.

Henry, after encountering and surmounting many difficulties both in France and Ireland, was attacked in the possession of his throne by one Perkin Warbeck, who pretended to be the duke of York, second son to Edward IV., and was acknowledged as such by the dukes of Burgundy, Edward's sister. We shall not follow the adventures of this young man, which were various and uncommon; but it is certain that many of the English, as well as the courts of France and Scotland, believed him to be what he pretended. Henry endeavoured to prove the death of Edward V. and his brother, but never did it to the public satisfaction; and though James IV. of Scotland dismissed Perkin out of his dominions, being engaged in a treaty of marriage with Henry's eldest daughter, yet by the kind manner in which he entertained and dismissed him, it is plain that he believed him to be the real duke of York. He even carried his confidence so far as to give him in marriage lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, and a near relation of his own; a young lady eminent for virtue as well as beauty.

Perkin, however, after various unfortunate adventures, fell into Henry's hands, and was shut up in the Tower of London, from whence he endeavoured to escape along with the innocent earl of Warwick, for which Perkin was hanged, and the earl beheaded. It is said, that Perkin made a confession of his impostures before his death*; but if he did, it might have been extorted from him, either upon the hope of pardon, or the fear of torture.

* Bacon.

Henry,

Henry, at the time of his death, was possessed of 1,800,000*l.* sterling, which is equal to five millions at present; so that he may be supposed to have been master of more ready money than all the kings in Europe besides possessed, the mines of Peru and Mexico being then only beginning to be worked. He was immoderately fond of replenishing his coffers, and often tricked his parliament to grant him subsidies for foreign alliances, which he intended not to pursue. His avarice was the probable reason why he did not become master of the West Indies. He had the first offer of the discovery from Columbus; but, his proposals being rejected by

Henry, that great man applied to the court of Spain, and set out upon the discovery of a new world, which he effected after a passage of thirty-three days, and took possession of the country in the name of the king and queen of Spain. Henry, however, made some amends by encouraging Cabot a

A. D. 1498. Venetian, who discovered the main land of North-America; and we may observe to the praise of this king, that sometimes, in order to promote commerce, he lent to merchants sums of money without interest, when he knew that their stock was not sufficient for those enterprizes, which they had in view.

No prince, perhaps, ever entered on the exercise of royalty, with greater advantages than Henry VIII. did. Young, vigorous, and rich, without any rival, he held the balance of power in Europe. He was, however, governed by caprice more than by principle. The passions of the man were ever an over-match for the maxims of the king. Vanity and resentment were the great spring of all his actions; and his neighbours, by touching these, found an easy way to draw him into their measures. But all the impolitic steps of Henry's government must not be imputed to himself. Many of them were occasioned by the ambition and avarice of his prime minister and favourite, the celebrated cardinal Wolsey, who was the son of a butcher at Ipswich, but educated at Oxford, and made dean of Lincoln by Henry VII. This man, who, by his talents and accomplishments, had risen from one of the lowest conditions in life to the highest employments, both in church and state, and who lived with regal splendor, governed the haughty, presumptuous, and intractable spirit of Henry with absolute ascendancy. Equally rapacious and profuse, he was insatiable in desiring wealth; vain and ostentatious he was greedy of adulation; of boundless ambition, he aspired after new honours with an eagerness unabated by his former success. To these passions he himself sacrificed every consideration; and who-
ever

ever sought to obtain his favour, or that of his master, found it necessary also to sacrifice liberally to them.

Religious disputes form the important object of this period. Henry, for some time, continued the great enemy of the reformation, and the champion of the popes of the Romish church. He wrote a book against Luther, on the *Seven Sacraments*, for which the pope gave him the title of Defender of the Faith, which his successors retain to this day. He began, however, to have some scruples with regard to the validity of his marriage with his brother's widow. I shall not say, how far on this occasion he might be influenced by scruples of conscience, or aversion to the queen, or the charms of the famous Anne Boleyn, maid of honour to the queen, whom he married, before he had obtained from Rome the proper bills of divorce from the pope. The difficulties he met with in this process, ruined Wolsey, who died of a broken heart, after being stripped of his immense power and possessions.

A perplexing though nice conjuncture of affairs induced Henry at last to throw off all relation to, or dependance upon, the church of Rome, and to bring about a reformation; in which, however, many of the Romish errors and superstitions were retained. Henry never could have effected this measure, had it not been for his despotic disposition, which broke out on every occasion. Upon a slight suspicion of his queen's inconstancy, and after a sham trial, he cut off her head in the Tower, and put to death some of her nearest relations; and in many respects he acted in the most arbitrary manner, his wishes, however unreasonable, being too readily complied with, in consequence of the shameful servility of his parliaments. The dissolution of the religious houses, and the immense wealth that came to Henry, by seizing all the ecclesiastical property in his kingdom, enabled him to give full scope to his sanguinary disposition, so that the best and most innocent blood of England was shed on scaffolds, and seldom any long time passed without being marked with some illustrious victim of his tyranny. Lord Cromwell after having enjoyed the confidence of Henry, was proscribed by that terrible monarch, and sacrificed to his caprice. Fisher and sir Thomas More died upon a scaffold.

His third wife was Jane Seymour, daughter to a gentleman of fortune and family; but she died in bringing Edward VI. into the world. His fourth wife was Anne, sister to the duke of Cleves. He disliked her so much, that he soon obtained a divorce, and suffered her to reside in England on a pension of 3000l. a year. His fifth wife was Catherine Howard niece to the duke of Norfolk, whose head he cut off for
ante-

ante-nuptial incontinency. His last wife was Catherine Par, widow of lord Latimer, a woman of virtue and good sense; and though somewhat inclined to promote the Reformation, a circumstance which gave great joy to the Protestant party, she delivered her sentiments with much caution in regard to the new doctrines *. Henry, however, whose favourite topic of conversation was theology, by engaging her frequently in religious disputes, found means to discover her real principles; and his unwieldy corpulence and ill health having soured his temper, and increased the severity of his natural passionate and tyrannical disposition, he ordered an impeachment to be drawn up against her. And the greatest prudence and address only could have saved her from the block.

Having happily got information of the king's displeasure, Catherine replied, when he next offered to converse with her on theological subjects, that such profound speculations were little suited to the natural imbecility of her sex; observing, at the same time, that though she declined not discourse on any topic, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew that her conceptions could serve no other purpose than to afford him a momentary amusement; that she found conversation apt to languish when not revived by some opposition, and had ventured, at times, to feign a contrariety of sentiment, in order to afford him the pleasure of refuting her. And she ingeniously added, that she also proposed by this innocent artifice to engage the king in arguments, whence she had observed, by frequent experience, that she reaped much profit and instruction. "And is it so sweet a heart!" said Henry; "then we are friends again!" embracing her tenderly, and assuring her of his affection. The chancellor however, ignorant of this reconciliation, came next day to arrest Catherine, pursuant to the king's warrant, but was dismissed by Henry with the approbrious appellations of *knave*, *fool*, and *beast* †. So violent and capricious was the temper of that prince!

Henry reigned thirty-eight years; during which time absolute despotism prevailed in the state, and yet the form of a free constitution remained. Some kings have been tyrants from contradiction and revolt; some from being misled by favourites, and some from a spirit of party. But Henry was cruel from a depraved disposition alone; cruel in government, cruel in religion, and cruel in his family. In his reign the Bible was ordered to be printed in English. Wales was united and incorporated with England. Ireland was created into a kingdom, and Henry took the title of king instead of lord of Ireland.

* Fox.

† Burnet Herbert.

C H A P. LXXXII.

*Edward VI.—Bridewell and St. Thomas's hospital built—
Mary marries Philip II. and persecutes the Protestants—
Calais is taken—Elizabeth establishes the Protestant religion,
and defeats the Spanish Armada—Essex—Story of the ring—
Elizabeth's death and Character.*

EDWARD VI. was but nine years of age at the time of his father's death; and after A. D. 1547. some disputes were over, the regency was settled in the person of his uncle the earl of Hertford, afterwards the protector, and duke of Somerset, a declared friend and patron of the reformation. A faction, however, formed equally of papists and pretended Protestants, first drove the protector from the helm of state, and afterwards accused him of high treason for seeming to acquiesce in some desperate projects, which their emissaries suggested to him. Somerset was bred, condemned, and executed on Tower-hill; and four of his friends shared the same unjust and unhappy fate. His death was sincerely lamented by the people, to whom he had been peculiarly indulgent, and who regarded him as a martyr in their cause. Many of them dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relique*.

Dudley, who was created duke of Northumberland, then took the lead in the government; and hurried Edward, who, though young, meant extremely well, and was a sincere Protestant, into many impolitic acts; so that, upon the whole, England made but an inconsiderable figure in his reign, compared with what it had done at other periods.

The reformation, however, went on rapidly, through the zeal of Cranmer and other foreign divines. In some cases, particularly with regard to the princess Mary, they lost sight of that moderation, which the reformers had before so strongly recommended; and some cruel sanguinary executions, on account of religion, took place. Edward's youth excused him from blame, and his charitable endowments, as Bridewell, and St. Thomas's hospital, and also several schools which still exist and flourish, shew the goodness of his heart. He died of a deep consumption, in the 16th year of his age, and the seventh of his reign, greatly regretted by A. D. 1553. all, as his early virtues gave a prospect of the continuance of a happy reign.*

* Hayward,

Edward on his death-bed, from his zeal for religion, had made a very unconstitutional will; for he set aside his sister Mary from the succession, which was claimed by lady Jane Gray, daughter to the duchess of Suffolk, younger sister to Henry VIII. This lady, though she had scarcely reached her seventeenth year, was a prodigy of learning and virtue; but the bulk of the English nation having recognised the claim of the princess Mary, lady Jane and her husband lord Guilford Dudley lost their heads. This fond and unfortunate couple died with much piety and fortitude*. Lady Jane saw her lord led to execution, without discovering any sign of weakness. She even calmly met his headless body, as she was going to execution herself, returning to be interred in the chapel of the Tower, and intrepidly desired to proceed to the fatal spot, emboldened by the reports which she had received of the magnanimity of his behaviour. On that occasion she wrote in her Table-book, three sentences; one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in English. The meaning of them was, that although human justice was against her husband's body, divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth and inexperience ought to plead her excuse, and that God and posterity, she trusted, would shew her favour. On the scaffold she behaved with great mildness and composure, and submitted herself to the stroke of the executioner with a steady and serene countenance †.

Mary having married Philip II. king of Spain, who like herself was an unfeeling bigot to popery, restored the Romish religion, and a most sanguinary persecution of the Protestants filled the whole of this short reign. Archbishop Cranmer; Hooper, bishop of Gloucester; Farar, bishop of St. David's; Ridley, bishop of London; Latimer, bishop of Worcester; and several other Protestant divines, suffered martyrdom.

Of all the prelates of that age, Latimer was the most remarkable for his unaffected piety, and the simplicity of his manners. He had never learned to flatter in courts; and his open rebuke was dreaded by all the great, who at that time too much deserved it. His sermons, which remain to this day, shew that he had much learning, and much wit; and there is an air of sincerity running through them, not to be found elsewhere. When Ridley began to comfort his ancient friend, Latimer, on his part, was as ready to return the kind office. "Be of good cheer, brother, cried he, we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished."

The loss of Calais, which was taken by the French, affected Mary so deeply, that she fell into a slow fever, which put an

* Fox.

† Burnet.

end to her inglorious reign. "When I am dead, said she to "her attendants you will find Calais at my heart." Mary possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable. Her person was as little engaging as her manners; and amid that complication of vices which entered into her composition, namely, obstinacy, bigotry, violence, and cruelty, we scarcely find any virtue but sincerity.

Elizabeth daughter to Henry VIII. by Anne Boleyn, mounted the throne under the most discouraging circumstances, both at home and abroad. Popery was the established religion of England; her title to the crown, on account of the circumstances attending her mother's marriage and death was disputed by Mary queen of Scots, grandchild to Henry VIIth's. eldest daughter, and wife to the dauphin of France; and the only ally she had on the continent was Philip king of Spain, who was the life and soul of the popish cause, both abroad and in England. Elizabeth was no more than twenty-five years of age at the time of her inauguration; but her sufferings under her bigoted sister, joined to the superiority of her genius, had taught her caution and policy, and she soon conquered all difficulties.

The accession of Elizabeth was followed by a firm establishment of protestantism. A liturgy was framed, and the hierarchy settled by archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons. The affairs of Scotland are deeply interwoven with those of England, during this reign, occasioned by the rivalry and personal enmity between the two queens. The attachment of Mary queen of Scots to the Catholic religion was the principal cause of her misfortunes. A conspiracy formed by Babington, and the adherents of the church of Rome, for the assassination of Elizabeth, and the establishment of popery, to which he was accused of being privy, brought this amiable, accomplished but unfortunate queen to the scaffold, a victim to the jealousy and fears of an offended rival: an act by which the English queen has for ever sullied the glory of her reign. Elizabeth's attention was now called to more distant dangers. Philip II. of Spain, determining to execute his ambitious project of the entire conquest of England, prepared a great armada, vainly denominated invincible, which was defeated by the English fleet, under the earl of Essex and sir Francis Drake.

From being invaded, the English, in their turn attacked the Spaniards. Of those who made the most signal figure in the depredations upon Spain, was the young earl of Essex, a nobleman of the greatest bravery, generosity, and genius; and fitted, not only for the foremost ranks in war by his valour, but to conduct the intrigues of a court by his eloquence and

addresses. In all the masks which were then performed the earl and Elizabeth were generally coupled as partners; and although she was almost sixty, and he not half so old, yet her vanity overlooked the disparity; the world told her that she was young, and she herself was willing to think so. This young earl's interests in the queen's affections, as may naturally be supposed, promoted his interests in the state; and he conducted all things at his discretion. But young and unexperienced as he was, he at length began to fancy that the popularity he possessed, and the flatteries he received, were given to his merits. In a debate before the queen, between him and Cecil *, the prime minister, a man of great abilities and penetration, about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument that he entirely forgot both the rules and duties of civility. He turned his back on the queen in a contemptuous manner, which so provoked her resentment that she instantly gave him a box on the ear †. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore he would not bear such treatment even from her father. This offence, though very great, was overlooked by the queen; her partiality was so prevalent, that she re-instated him in her former favour, and her kindness seemed to have acquired new force from that short interruption of anger and resentment. The death also of his rival, lord Burleigh, which happened shortly after, seemed to confirm his power.

At that time the earl of Tyrone headed the rebellious natives of Ireland; who, not yet thoroughly brought into subjection to the English, took every opportunity to make incursions upon the more civilized inhabitants, and slew all they were able to overpower. To subdue these was an employment that Essex thought worthy of his ambition; nor were his enemies displeased at thus removing a man from court, where he obstructed all their private aims of preferment. But it ended in his ruin. Essex returned to England unsuccessful, and, having entered into a conspiracy against the queen, was sentenced to lose his head. After his condemnation, he was reconciled to his enemies, and made a full confession of his conspiracy. It is alledged upon this occasion that he had strong hopes of pardon from the irresolution which the queen seemed to discover, before she signed the warrant for his execution. She had given him formerly a ring *, which she desired him to send her in any emergency of this nature, in order to procure his safety and protection. This ring was actually sent to her by the countess of Nottingham, who being

* Lord Burleigh.

† Camden.

‡ Birch.

a concealed enemy to the unfortunate earl, never delivered it; while Elizabeth was secretly fired at his obstinacy in making no application for mercy and forgiveness. She therefore signed the warrant for his execution, countermanded it, again resolved on his death, and again felt a new return of tenderness. At last she gave her consent to his execution, and was never seen to enjoy one happy day more.

With regard to the ring, conscience at last discovered what it could not prevent. The countess of Nottingham falling ill, and finding her end fast approaching, was seized with remorse on account of her perfidy. She desired to see the queen, in order to reveal to her a secret, without disclosing which she could not die in peace. When the queen entered her apartment, she presented the fatal ring, related the purpose for which she had received it, and begged forgiveness. All Elizabeth's affection returned, and all her rage was roused; "God may forgive you," cried she, "but I never can!" shaking the dying countess in her bed, and rushing out of the room.

After this discovery, the spirit of Elizabeth left her, and existence itself seemed a burden. Rejecting all consolation, she became pensive, silent, and melancholy; and her body being totally wasted by anguish of mind and abstinence, she expired in a few days, in the six-
A. D. 1603.
ventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign, having previously named her kinsman James VI. king of Scotland, and son to Mary for her successor*. The character of Elizabeth differed with her circumstances. In the beginning she was moderate and humble; towards the end of her reign, haughty and severe. Though she was possessed of excellent sense, yet she never had the discernment to discover that she wanted beauty; and to flatter her charms at the age of sixty-five was the surest road to her favour and esteem. She was far from being a friend to liberty, being guilty of many stretches of power against the most sacred rites of Englishmen.—With this celebrated queen ended the House of Tudor.

* Carey's Memoirs.

C H A P. LXXXIII.

James I.—Gunpowder Treason—Carr, Earl of Somerset—Villiers, Duke of Buckingham—Sir Walter Raleigh—Death and Character of James—Charles I.—Execution of Strafford and Laud—Decisive battle of Naseby—Execution of Charles.

BY the accession of James I. who was the sixth king of Scotland of that name, and grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. we shall see two kingdoms united, which had been divided from the earliest account of time, but destined by their situation to form one great nation. And by this junction of its whole native force, Great-Britain hath risen to an eminence and authority in Europe, that England and Scotland separately could never have attained *.

James was far from being destitute of natural abilities for government; but he had received wrong impressions of the regal office, and too high an opinion of his own dignity, learning, and political talents. It was his misfortune that he mounted the English throne under a full conviction, that he was entitled to all the unconstitutional powers, which had been occasionally exercised by Elizabeth and the House of Tudor; and which various causes had prevented the people from opposing with proper vigour.

The domestic tranquillity was interrupted at the commencement of this reign, by the conspiracy of Cobham, Grey, and other malecontents. Their intention was to raise the king's cousin, Arabella Stuart, to the throne. The conspirators were executed. This was followed by the gunpowder treason; a plot which excited universal astonishment and horror. Its object was, the destruction of the king and parliament. This dreadful scheme was happily detected, and the authors of it were punished. The pacific reign of James was a series of theological contests with ecclesiastical casuists, in

which, he proved himself more of a theologian than a prince; and he attempted to establish episcopacy in Scotland, but the zeal of the people baffled his design †. Without enquiring from what motive his love of peace proceeded, it was eventually productive of many blessings to England; and though his perpetual negotiations have given rise to much satire against his person and government, yet they were less expensive and destructive

* Dr. Robertson.

† Rushworth.

to his people than any wars he could have entered into *. That his pedantry was ridiculous, cannot be denied; and it is certain that he had no just ideas of the English constitution and liberties, which led him into many absurd disputes with his parliament.

James has been greatly and justly blamed for his partiality to favourites; his first was Robert Carr, a private Scotch gentleman, who was raised to be first minister and earl of Somerset. His next favourite was George Villiers, a private English gentleman, who, upon Somerset's disgrace, was admitted to an unusual share of favour and familiarity with his sovereign, and created duke of Buckingham. James had at that time formed a system of policy for attaching himself intimately to the court of Spain, that it might assist him in recovering the Palatinate; and to this system he had sacrificed the brave sir Walter Raleigh, on a charge of having committed hostilities against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies †.

James died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after a reign over England of twenty-two years. A. D. 1625. That he was contemptible as a monarch must perhaps be allowed; but that he was so as a man, can by no means be admitted. His disposition was friendly, his temper benevolent, and his humour gay. His spirit, rather than his understanding, was weak. He possessed a considerable share both of learning and abilities, but wanted that vigour of mind, and dignity of manner, which are essential to form a respectable sovereign. This turn of mind inclined him to promote the arts, both useful and ornamental. He encouraged and employed that excellent painter sir Peter Paul Rubens, as well as Inigo Jones who restored the pure state of architecture in England. Mr. Middleton also at this time projected the conveying water from Ware, in Hertfordshire, by means of pipes. It is now called the New River.

Charles I. succeeded to the crown of his father at a very critical period, and with ideas of the royal prerogative much averse to the spirit of the times. Unable to obtain supplies from his parliament, for the prosecution of a war in defence of his brother-in-law the elector palatine, he quarrelled with his parliament, and afterwards dissolving them, endeavoured to raise money by loans from his subjects. The new parliament that succeeded was less complying than the former. They framed a petition of rights requiring the abolition of loans from the subject, and taxes raised without parliamentary aid. To this the king reluctantly assented; but still continu-

* Hume.

† Harleian Miscellany.

ing imprudently to levy the imposts of tonnage and poundage * without a new grant, the commons urged this as a violation of the petition of rights, and were dissolved. A new parliament assembled, which being still less obsequious to the royal will, was once more dissolved, and the king summoned his fifth and last parliament. The discontents of the nation were now very great, and Charles, sensible of his errors, assented to a bill fixing the right of parliament alone to levy taxes, and consented to summon one every third year. His ministers the earl of Strafford and archbishop Laud, were impeached and beheaded. The king was in a manner forced by the parliament and people to sign the warrant for Strafford's execution; for he was conscious that he had not exceeded the instructions that were given him †.

The conduct of the commons hitherto laudable, becomes now unconstitutional and unjustifiable. They passed a bill to render their assembly perpetual, and arrogated to themselves the military and executive authority of the crown, the power of nominating the governors and lieutenants of all the fortified places, and declaring it a breach of privilege to dispute the laws framed by parliament alone. The king issued proclamations against this usurpation. A civil war was the consequence. Charles was at first successful; but the decisive battle of Naseby, in which the royal army was totally defeated by Fairfax and Cromwell, gave the opposite party the command of the state. Having in vain attempted a reconciliation, the king escaped in disguise from Oxford, and came to the Scotch army before Newark, upon a promise of protection. The Scots, however, were so intimidated, by the resolutions of the parliament at Westminster, and in consideration of 400,000*l.* of their arrears to be paid, they put the person of Charles into the hands of the parliament's commissioners, probably not suspecting the consequences.

The presbyterians were now inclined to make peace with the king, but they were no longer masters, being forced to receive laws from the army, and the independents. The army now avowed their intention. They first by force took Charles out of the hands of the commissioners, and then dreading that a treaty might still take place with the king, they imprisoned forty-one of the presbyterian members, voted the house of peers to be useless, and that of the commons was reduced to 150, and most of them officers of the army.

* Tonnage was a duty upon all wines imported. Poundage was a duty imposed, *ad valorem*, at the rate of 1*2d.* in the pound on all other merchandize whatsoever.

† Clarendon.

In the mean while Charles, who unhappily promised himself relief, from those dissensions, was carried from prison to prison, and sometimes cajoled by the independents with hopes of deliverance, but always narrowly watched. Several treaties were set on foot, but all miscarried; and he had been imprudent enough, after his effecting an escape, to put himself into colonel Hammond's hands the parliament's governor of the Isle of Wight. A fresh negotiation was begun, and almost finished, when the independents once more seized upon the king, brought him prisoner to London, carried him before a court of justice of their own erecting, and, after an extraordinary trial, his head was cut off, before his own palace at Whitehall, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. Jan. 30,
A.D. 1649.

Charles is allowed to have had many virtues, and some have supposed, that affliction had taught him so much wisdom and moderation, that had he been restored to his throne he would have become an excellent prince*. Others, however, are of opinion, that he retained his arbitrary principles to the last, and that he would again have regulated his conduct by them, if he had been reinstated in power†.

C H A P. LXXXIV.

Commonwealth—Oliver Cromwell—Richard Cromwell—Restoration of Charles II.—General Monk—Sale of Dunkirk—Pestilence and Fire in London—James II.—Revolution—Abdication of James.

THE execution of the unfortunate Charles was followed by the dissolution of monarchy. The commons passed an act abolishing kingly power as *useless, burdensome, and dangerous*, and annulled the house of peers. A republican form of government was established on the ruins of monarchy, under the direction of the parliament; but Cromwell, who hated subordination to a republic, having the address to get himself declared commander in chief of the English army, went without any ceremony, with about 300 musqueteers, and dissolved the parliament. "For shame," said he, "get you gone. Give place to honest men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a

* Letter to the Prince of Wales.

† Charles's Private Letters.

"parliament: I tell you, you are no longer a parliament; the Lord has done with you." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against his conduct; "Sir Harry," cried Cromwell with a loud voice, "O sir Harry Vane, the Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane." Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, he said, "thou art a whoremaster;" to another, "thou art an adulterer;" to a third, "thou art a drunkard;" to a fourth, "thou art a glutton." "It is you," continued he to the members, "that have forced me upon this. I have fought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Then pointing to the mace, "Take away, cried he, that bauble." After which, turning out all the members, and clearing the hall, he ordered the door to be locked, and putting the key in his pocket, returned to Whitehall*.

Cromwell next annihilated the council of state, with whom the executive power was lodged, and transferred the administration of government to about 140 persons. In the mean time admiral Blake, and the other English admirals, carried the terror of the English name by sea to all quarters of the globe. Seven bloody engagements were fought with the Dutch in little more than the compass of one year; and in the last, which was decisive in favour of England, the Dutch lost their brave admiral Van Tromp. Cromwell all this while wanted to be declared king, but he perceived that he must encounter unsurmountable difficulties from Fleetwood and his other friends, if he should persist in his resolution. He was, however, declared *Lord protector* of the commonwealth of England; a title under which he exercised all the power that had been formerly annexed to the regal dignity. Historians in drawing a character of Cromwell, have been imposed upon by his amazing success, and dazzled by the lustre of his fortune; but when we consult Thurloe's † state papers, the imposition in a great measure vanishes. After a most uncomfortable usurpation of four years, eight months,

A. D. 1658. and thirteen days, he died on the third of September, the day that had always been so fortunate to him, being the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester.

Cromwell was furnished with those talents that were admirably suited to the times in which he lived, and to the part he was destined to act. He possessed in an eminent degree, the power of discerning the characters of men, and the rare felicity of employing their abilities to advantage; of discovering the motives of others, while he concealed his own; and of

* Thurloe's State Papers.

† Cromwell's Secretary.

blending

blending the wildest fanaticism with the most profound policy *. The many battles gained by his conduct and valour; the rapidity of his conquests; the activity displayed in his marches; England, Scotland, Ireland subdued by him in a very little time, are so many proofs of his military talents. As a sovereign, history represents him as a despot, simple, modest, and wise; re-establishing that order which he had destroyed; rendering England tranquil and happy; preparing for his nation the empire of the seas, and causing his alliance to be courted by all the powers of Europe. Though many have extolled his eloquence, he does not appear by his speeches to have been an orator. They are an assemblage of bad reasoning, of fanciful thoughts, of pedantic citations, and of low and puerile expressions.

The fate of Richard Cromwell, who succeeded his father Oliver as protector, sufficiently proves the great difference there was between them, as to spirit and parts in the affairs of government. Richard was placed in his dignity by those who wanted to make him the tool of their own government; and he was soon after driven, without the least struggle or opposition, into obscurity. He withdrew to his estate in the country; and as he had done hurt to no man, so no man ever attempted to hurt him: a striking instance of the instability of human greatness, and of the security of innocence †. Even after the restoration, he remained unmolested. He thought proper, however, to travel for some years; and had frequently the mortification, while in disguise, to hear himself treated as a blockhead, for reaping no greater benefit from his father's conduct. But Richard, who was of a gentle, humane, and generous disposition, wisely preferred the peace of virtue to the glare of guilty grandeur. When some of his partizans offered to put an end to the intrigues of the officers, by the death of Lambert; "I will never," said he, "purchase power or dominion by such sanguinary measures." He lived in contentment and tranquillity to an extreme old age, and died toward the latter part of queen Anne's reign. He appears to have had nothing of the enthusiast about him; for we are told that, when murmurs were made against certain promotions in the army, he smartly replied. "What! would you have me to prefer none but the godly? Now here is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach, yet will I trust him before you all ‡."

It is in vain for historians of any party to ascribe the restoration of Charles II. (who with his mother and brothers,

* Ludlow's Memoirs.

† Burnet.

‡ Ludlow's

during.

during the usurpation, had lived abroad on a very precarious subsistence) to the merits of any particular persons. The presbyterians were very zealous in promoting it, but it was effected by the general concurrence of the people, who seemed to have thought that neither peace nor protection were to be obtained, but by restoring the ancient constitution of monarchy. General Monk, a man of military abilities, but of no principles, excepting such as served his ambition or interest, had the sagacity to observe this; and after temporising in various shapes, being at the head of the army, made the principal figure in restoring Charles II. For this he was created duke of Albemarle, confirmed in the command of the army, and loaded with honours and riches.

In the first year of his reign, Charles seemed
 A. D. 1660. to have a real desire to promote his people's happiness. The Royal Society was instituted, and many popular acts respecting trade and colonization were passed. By his long residence, and that of his friends abroad, he imported into England the culture of many elegant vegetables; such as that of asparagus, artichokes, cauliflowers, and several kinds of beans, peas, and sallads. He has been severely censured for selling Dunkirk to the French king to supply his necessities, after he had squandered the immense sums granted him by parliament. The price was about 250,000*l.* sterling. But even in this his conduct was more defensible than in his secret connections with France, in order to enable him to govern without parliamentary supplies. These were of the most scandalous nature, utterly repugnant to the welfare of the kingdom, and such as must ever reflect infamy on his memory *. He complained of the freedom taken with his prerogative in coffee-houses, and ordered them to be shut up; but in a few days after they were opened again.

Charles knew and cultivated the true interests of his kingdom, till he was warped by pleasure and sunk in indolence; failings which had the same consequence as despotism itself. Among the evidences of his degeneracy as a king, may be mentioned his giving way to the popular clamour against lord Clarendon as the chief adviser of the sale of Dunkirk; a man of extensive knowledge, and great abilities, and more honest in his intentions than most of his other ministers, but whom he sacrificed to the sycophants of his pleasurable hours.

London was visited with two very great calamities a few years after Charles ascended the throne. A pestilence carried off eighty-seven thousand of the inhabitants, and a fire de-

* Dalrymple.

ströyed near two thirds of the city. But those evils made no impression on the king. The intoxication of pleasure still continued. The court was the nursery of vice, and the stage exhibited scenes of impurity.

With regard to his administration, Charles, before his death, is said seriously to have projected a change of measures. While revolving this idea, he was seized with a fit, resembling an apoplexy; which, after an interval of reason, carried him off in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and not without the suspicion of poison*. These suspicions fell not on the duke of York, but on some of the duchess of Portsmouth's Roman catholic servants; who are supposed to have been worked upon by her confessor, to whom she had communicated the king's intentions.

As a prince, Charles II. was void of ambition, and destitute of a proper sense of his dignity, in relation to foreign politics. In regard to domestic politics he was able and artful, but mean and disingenuous. As a gentleman and companion, he was elegant, easy, gay, and facetious; but having little sensibility of heart, and a very bad opinion of human nature, he appears to have been incapable of friendship or gratitude. As to his religion, James, soon after his death, published to the world that his brother, notwithstanding his repeated protestations of regard to the protestant faith, was a papist, and died such. This, too, is the general opinion†. The truth, however, seems to be, that Charles while in high health, was of no particular religion; but that, having been early initiated in the catholic faith, he always fled to the altar of superstition, when his spirits were low, or when his life was thought in danger.

As Charles died without children, his brother the duke of York, succeeded to the throne by the title of James II. He made open profession of the catholic religion, and to his faith in the doctrines of Rome joined a spirit of bigotry and furious zeal. Having formed a design of reconciling his subjects to the catholic church, he began, as soon as he ascended the throne, to put it in execution. But James was not equal to the task. His people had a very great aversion to popery, and the tenor of his conduct was such, as to alarm and put them on their guard. He acted from the very first, as if he had already gained his end. The pope's nuncio, and jesuit priests appeared publicly at court; and seven bishops, who would not acknowledge his dispensing power, were imprisoned. He deprived the city of London and other towns of their privileges, and overturned the laws with a high hand. His

* Burnet.

† Burnet, Hume, &c.

conduct was so little marked with wisdom, that even the papists themselves were offended at it. The pope * had no hopes of seeing the catholic religion established in Britain, by the enterprizes of James, and therefore would not grant a cardinal's hat to the jesuit Peters, the king's confessor. The open attempts of James to destroy their civil and religious liberties, roused the nation to take measures to prevent it. An association was entered into by those who wished well to their country, and a deputation sent to invite the prince of Orange, nephew and son-in-law of James. William accepted the invitation, got every thing ready for his expedition,

Nov. 5.
A D. 1688. landed, at Torbay, and was received in England, with general satisfaction. The winds were so favourable to the glorious revolution, that the followers of William began to consider him and themselves as the peculiar favourites of Heaven; and even the learned Dr. Burnet could not help exclaiming, in the words of Claudian,

"O nimium dilecte Deo cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti."

"Heaven's darling charge! to aid whose great design
The fighting skies and friendly winds combine."

The prince of Orange, immediately on his landing, dispersed a printed declaration, which had been already printed in Holland, and contributed not a little to his future success. In that elaborate performance, written originally in French by the pensionary Fagel, and translated into English by Dr. Burnet, the principal grievances of the three British kingdoms were enumerated; namely, The exercise of a dispensing and suspending power; the revival of the court of ecclesiastical commission; the filling of all offices with catholics; the open encouragement given to popery, by building every where places of worship, colleges, and seminaries for that sect; the displacing of judges, if they gave sentence contrary to the orders or the inclinations of the court; the annulling the charters of all the corporations, and thereby subjecting elections to arbitrary will and pleasure; the treating of petitions to the throne, even the most modest, and from persons of the highest rank, as criminal and seditious; the committing of the whole authority in Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of papists; the assuming an absolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland, and openly exacting in that kingdom an obedience without reserve; He concluded with protesting, that the sole

* Innocent XI.

object of his expedition was to procure a redress of these grievances; to get a legal and free parliament summoned, that might provide for the liberty and security of the nation, and examine the proofs of the legitimacy of the prince of Wales, in regard to which he expressed the most violent suspicions*.

Though this declaration was received with ardour by the nation, the prince, for some time after his landing, could not boast of his good fortune. A great deal of rain having fallen, the roads were rendered almost impassible; and he possessed neither cattle nor carriages sufficient to convey the baggage of his army. He directed, however, his encumbered march to Exeter; but without being joined by any person of eminence, either on his way, or for eight days after his arrival at that place. His troops were discouraged; he himself began to think of abandoning his enterprize; and actually held a council of his principal officers, to deliberate whether he should embark. Impatient of disappointment, he is said even to have publicly declared his resolution to permit the English nation to settle their own differences with their king; and to direct his father-in-law whom to punish, by transmitting to him the secret correspondence of his subjects†.

The friends of the court exulted mightily at the coldness of William's reception; but their joy was of short duration. Many of the principal officers of the army were inspired with the prevailing spirit of the nation, and disposed to prefer the interests of their country to their duty to their sovereign. Though they might love James, and have a due sense of the favours he had conferred upon them, they were startled at the thought of rendering him absolute master not only of the liberties, but even of the lives and properties of his subjects; and yet this, they saw, must be the consequence of suppressing the numerous insurrections, and obliging the prince of Orange to quit the kingdom. They therefore determined rather to bear the reproach of infidelity, than to run the hazard of becoming the instruments of despotism.

The example of desertion among the officers was set by lord Colchester, son of the earl of Rivers, and by lord Cornbery, son of the earl of Clarendon. The king had arrived at Salisbury, the head quarters of his army, when he received this alarming intelligence; but as the soldiers in general seemed firm in their allegiance, and the officers in a body, expressed their abhorrence of such treachery, he resolved to advance upon the invaders. Unfortunately, however, for his

* Memoirs of the duke of Berwick.

† Dalrymple.

affairs,

affairs, the Dutch had already taken possession of Axminster. A sudden bleeding at the nose, with which he was seized, occasioned a delay of some days; and farther symptoms of defection appearing among the officers, he judged it prudent to retire toward London. Lord Churchill, afterward the great duke of Marlborough, and the duke of Grafton, natural son of Charles II. who had given their opinion for remaining at Salisbury, fled under cover of the night to the prince of Orange. Successive misfortunes poured in on the unfortunate monarch. Trelawney, who occupied an advanced post at Warminster, deserted with all his captains, except one. Prince George of Denmark, the king's son-in-law, and the young duke of Andover, left him at Andover. Every day diminished the number of his officers; and to increase the number of his misfortunes, he found, at his arrival in London, that his favourite daughter, Anne princess of Denmark; had secretly withdrawn herself the night before, in company with lady Churchill*. All his firmness of mind left him: tears started from his eyes; and he broke out into sorrowful exclamations, expressive of his deep sense of his now lost condition. "God help me," cried he, in the agony of his heart, "my own children have forsaken me!"

Distracted by his own fears, and alarmed by the real or pretended apprehensions of others, James sent the queen and the prince of Wales privately into France, and embraced the extraordinary resolution of following them in person. He accordingly left his palace at midnight, attended only by sir Edward Hales; and, in order to complete his imprudence and despair, he commanded the earl of Feverham to disband the army, recalled the writs for the meeting of the parliament, and threw the great seal into the Thames.

If James had deliberately resolved to place the prince of Orange on the throne of England, he could not have pursued a line of conduct more effectual for that purpose. Besides the odious circumstance of seeking refuge with the heir of the crown in a country distinguished for popery and arbitrary power, and recalling the writs for a free parliament, the anarchy and disorder which ensued, on the sudden dissolution of government, made all men look up to William as the saviour of the nation. The populace rose in London, and not only destroyed all the popish chapels, but even rifled the houses of the ambassadors of catholic princes and states, where many of the papists had lodged their most valuable effects.

William had advanced to Windsor, when he received the unwelcome news, that the king had been seized in disguise,

* Burnet.

by some fishermen, near Faversham in Kent, on supposition that he was some popish priest, or other delinquent, who wanted to make his escape. This intelligence threw all parties into confusion. The prince of Orange sent orders to James, not to approach nearer to London than Rochester. But the messenger misled him on the way, and he once more entered his capital amid the loudest acclamations of joy. The people forgot his misconduct in his misfortunes, and all orders of men seemed to welcome his return *. This, however, was only a transient gleam before a new storm. Scarce had the king retired to his bed-chamber, when he received a message from the prince, desiring him to remove to Ham, a house belonging to the duchess of Lauderdale; and the following night, as he was going to rest, the Dutch guards, without farther notice, took possession of his palace, and displaced the English, to the great disgust of the army, and no inconsiderable part of the nation. James set out next morning, by permission, for Rochester, in preference to Ham, under a Dutch guard; and although convinced that he could not do a more acceptable service to his rival, and that he had under-rated the loyalty of his subjects, he still resolved to make his escape to France.

The earls of Arran, Dumbarton, Aylesbury, Litchfield, and Middleton, the gallant lord Dundee, and other officers of distinction, who had assembled at Rochester, argued strenuously against this resolution. They represented to his majesty, that the opinion of mankind began already to change, and that events would daily rise in favour of his authority. "Resume the spirit of a king," said Dundee, with all his generous ardour; "summon your subjects to their allegiance: your army, though disbanded is not annihilated. Give me your commission, and I will collect 10,000 of your troops. I will carry your standard at their head through England, and drive before you the Dutch and their prince." James replied, that he believed it might be done, but that it would occasion a civil war; and he would not do so much mischief to a people who would soon return to their senses.

Afraid of being taken off either by poison or assassination*, and mortified at his present abject condition, James continued to meditate his escape; and as the back-door of the house in which he lodged was intentionally left without any guard, he found no difficulty in accomplishing his design. He privately withdrew at midnight, accompanied by his natural son, the duke of Berwick, and went on board a large sloop, which

* Burnet.

† Macpherson's Original Papers.

waited for him in the river Medway. After some obstructions, he safely arrived at Ambleuse, in Picardy; whence he hastened to St. Germain, where the queen and the prince of Wales had arrived the day before*.

The revolution was the epocha of liberty in England. The nation, represented by its parliament, obtained the *bill of rights* for the people, fixed the boundaries of the prerogative of the crown, so long contested; and having prescribed to the prince of Orange the conditions upon which he was to reign, chose him for king, in conjunction with his wife Mary daughter of James II. who had abdicated the throne. James knew the national interest, and, had he not been bigotted to his religion, would have made a very good king; but his absurd and intolerant principles persuaded him to act diametrically opposite to his own interest. Well might the archbishop of Rheims say, "There is a man who lost three kingdoms for a mass."

* James died an exile in France, Aug. 6, 1701.

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